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Conversion and Culture Change in a Highland Maya Community

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Abstract

CONVERSION AND CULTURE CHANGE IN A HIGHLAND MAYA COMMUNITY

by Judy Stomsvik

The traditional religion of the Tzotzil Indians of Chiapas, Mexico is a blend of ancient Maya and Spanish Catholic elements. Recently Protestant missionaries and lay workers have entered the area, with varying degrees of success. One of these evangelizing movements has been carried out by members of the Seventh-day Adventist church, with a great deal of success in some areas.

Since conversion of individuals to Adventism results in culture change for these individuals in the area of world view, it should also have ramifications in other areas of the culture as well. The purpose of this research was to discover just what these culture changes were, and whether the culture change which was occurring was so profound as to cause a loss of Indian identity, or ladinization.

The research for this study was carried out over a period of six months' residence in the northern Chiapas highlands, interviewing informants who were Seventh-day Adventists in an Andreseño hamlet, and collecting other

data by attendance at rituals and extended visits in the homes of some informants.

Culture change has clearly taken place in many other areas of the converts' lives, especially in external behavior, such as attendance at fiestas, drinking, mode of worship, and other traits. Interestingly, some areas where one might expect great change have experienced little or no change, such as concepts of health and illness, envy, and some aspects of the supernatural. However, the converts were found to have retained their identity as Indians, and only those few who have lengthy or intimate contact with North Americans or Ladinos in special situations such as the mission appear to be ladinizing at a faster rate than the general Indian population.

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Each person whose signature appears below certifies that this thesis in his opinion is adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree Master of Arts.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PART ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
I. HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM	1
II. PURPOSE	6
III. DEFINITIONS	9
IV. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION	17
PART TWO: THE ROLE OF EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM IN MAYA AMERICA	26
I. CONFLICT	30
II. CULTURE CHANGE	35
III. TRADITION	38
PART THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	40
PART FOUR: DISCUSSION	44
I. CONVERSION	44
Factors in Conversion	46
Barriers to Conversion	52
II. CHANGE	54
Changes Concomitant with Conversion	54
Ritual Changes	66
Changes in Social Relationships	78
PART FIVE: RESULTS	88
GLOSSARY	95
REFERENCES CITED	98

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. Map of the Tzotzil Area of Chiapas 7

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

Soon after the earliest Spaniards set foot on the shores of Tabasco, the ancestral deities of the Maya and later other Meso-American peoples found themselves under attack by fair-skinned friars of an alien race and religion (Díaz 1956:53). The old gods were not routed, however, they merely retreated behind the forms and ritual of the newer creed. This "compromise" (Thompson 1954:31) persisted in the Chiapas highlands virtually undisturbed for several centuries, punctuated only by brief unsuccessful nativistic movements (Vogt 1969:21, Molina 1934). Though labelled rebellions by the Spaniards and later by the Ladinos who were the objects of their violence, they were actually revitalization movements in common with various others throughout Latin America (Lanternari 1963).

Only in the last century have evangelical Protestants begun to make effective inroads into the Roman Catholic matrix of Latin America (McGavran 1963:49). Only in the last 50 years have they and orthodox Catholicism been able to penetrate into the rich pagan-Catholic syncretism which has been the post-Hispanic spiritual heritage of the Maya.

Presently the major Protestant influences in Mayan Chiapas are the Wycliffe Bible translators (Presbyterians) among the Chol and Tzeltal groups, and the Seventh-day Adventists, primarily among the Tzotzil. It is estimated that the Wycliffe translators had raised a Christian community of 20,000 among the Tzeltales by 1961, (based on 9,000 communicant membership) about half the tribe (McGavran 1961:102). No data were provided for the Chol area. The Southern Mexican Mission of Seventh-day Adventists gave the following data for the Tzotzil area in 1974: baptized members, 2,252, Sabbath School members, 3,517, congregations, 73.

The spread of Adventism through the Tzotzil area has been almost entirely through lay evangelism. There are no ordained Indian ministers, although there are many effective lay preachers and workers.

The Advent movement among the highland Maya got its start in 1942, among members of the Andreseño tribe. At that period dedicated church members throughout Mexico conducted lay evangelism in the following manner: several brothers from a church would be chosen to devote an entire year to spreading the gospel. For that year, they would dedicate full time to this work, and the other members of the church would plant their crops and care for their families for them.

This particular year the church in Tapijulapa near Amatán sent out some missionaries in this fashion. These workers set off through the mountains, looking for an Indian who could speak Spanish. After traveling 40 kilometers through forest and milpa, they found one. About eight one morning they were passing through the hamlet of Aurora Ermita or Aurora Ventana, and by the home of Isidro Gómez[1], who "thought it was those who buy pigs or swine" (Manuel Gómez 1974). The missionaries stopped and asked if anyone in the house could read. Isidro replied, "Yes, I know." He knew Spanish because he had been to Mexico City. He is believed to have been the first Andreseño to go to Mexico.

The missionaries asked if they could study the Bible with him, and he accepted. They began by talking about the second coming of Christ. Isidro was perplexed by what he had heard. He asked, if the second coming was so near, what must one do to be ready for it? The evangelists replied that one must read in God's Word how to get ready. Isidro pointed to their Bible; was this God's Word? If so, he wanted one also. He offered to buy their copy, but they refused to sell it, promising instead to return and bring another. Two weeks later on a Sabbath they kept their promise, bringing Isidro a Bible, and they

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[1]Pseudonyms used throughout for Andreseño informants. The pseudonyms are authentic names in common use among Andreseños. Women keep their own surnames after marriage.

found that he had gathered a group of 25 people to hear them. They preached that night and promised to come again on Friday. Isidro "...waited for Friday, and studied the Bible that first Sabbath." Three families, including that of Isidro's brother Juan, accepted the teaching, followed later by two more families. The evangelists studied with this group for several months, and then the entire company walked for two days down to Amatán to be baptized. However, the pastor who was supposed to baptize them didn't come to the church that week. (Rural pastors sometimes have 20 or more churches in their care.) So the entire group went home again unbaptized. They walked back and were baptized the following month. After the event, the workers who had studied with them told them that now that they had been baptized they would not receive visits from missionaries any more, but that they should go out and witness to others. So the evangelists never returned to Aurora Ventana, although the new converts visited frequently in Amatán.

The other people in Aurora Ventana began to talk. They said the new Adventistas had been deceived, and that those who accepted el sabbatísmo would have horns grow from their heads. They said that in the Adventist meetings the men had relations with each other's wives; that they danced unclothed. "They are demons," they said, "they don't believe in the saints any more" (Gómez 1974).

For 15 years the 25 original converts worked and prayed, without interesting anyone else. Isidro Gómez,

the first convert, continued faithfully in the church, "...attending all the services, Sabbath, Sunday, Wednesday and Friday." In addition he began to grow rich, by the standards of his community. He harvested from 80 to 100 bags of coffee yearly, for a cash income of 300-400 pesos per bag. In addition he had 15 head of cattle and 4 mules. He lived better than those around him, probably partially at least because he no longer expended money in ritual activity, although he contributed heavily to the Seventh-day Adventist church in Aurora Ermita. He also began to draw the envy of his neighbors. On several occasions people stole articles from his house. The last thing they stole was a rifle. Isidro had no idea who stole it, but his son investigated, and discovered who the culprit was. The boy complained in the presidencia and the robber was called before the Presidente and had to pay a small fine. Isidro and his son thought the matter was over. But the thief gathered together ten of his friends one night, and surrounded Isidro's house, shooting him and four of his sons through chinks in the walls as they slept. "This was a form by which Satan hindered the work," stated Isidro's nephew (Gómez 1974).

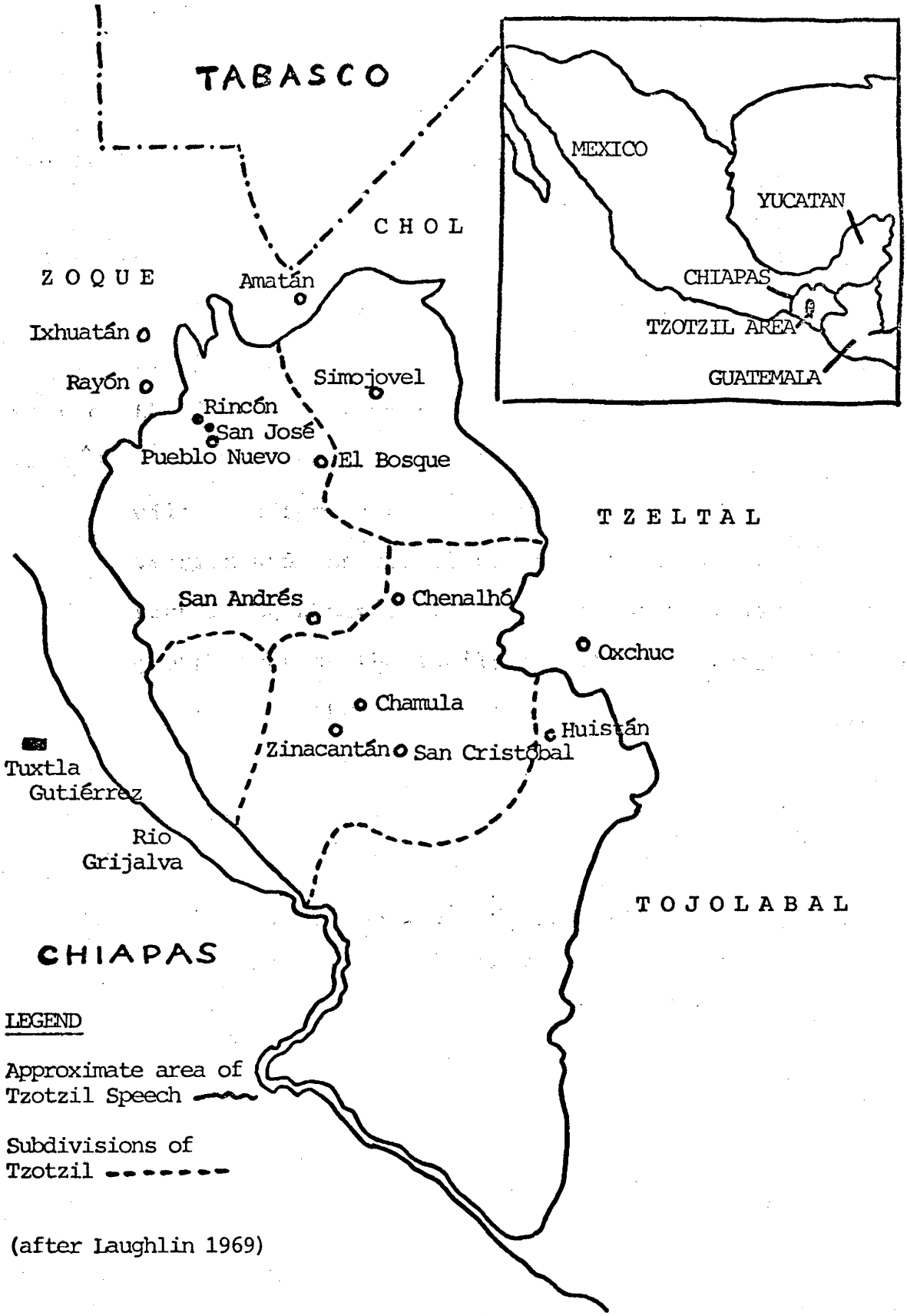
After a time the Adventists left Aurora Ermita and founded a new colonia, called Esperanza, which at first was populated only by Adventists, though later others also came. About ten years after these first conversions

a self-supporting clinic was begun at Yerba Buena, near Pueblo Nuevo Solistahuacán, and later an Adventist Colegio on the same hillside. Shortly after this the work began to advance in the Tzotzil area.

One of Isidro's nephews, Manuel Gómez, became an effective lay preacher. Though he has only three years of formal schooling, he has educated himself by diligent study. He is often invited to debate with members of "other religions" and in these debates "...he always wins, gracias a Dios" (Daniel Gomez 1973). About 1961 Manuel and his father, Juan, began to study with a man of Colonia San José, a ranchería near Pueblo Nuevo Solistahuacán. This man, Isidro Pérez, and his family accepted the message, and this was the beginning of the chul na Adventistá (Tzotzil) in San José.

II. PURPOSE

This paper will examine theories of conversion and culture change as they apply to the Maya area. It will review the development of Protestant people movements in Maya areas as reported in anthropological literature. It will then present data on the conversion experiences and subsequent culture changes among a particular Maya group, and attempt to explain why and how these changes occurred, and why other changes did not occur.



(after Laughlin 1969)

I approach the study of this problem with the following hypotheses:

1. Contact between a traditional highland Maya culture and evangelical Protestantism will result in culture change for the Maya.

2. Culture change among the Maya will take one or more of the following forms:

a. A number of individuals in the community will be affected by the new doctrine. This conversion and associated new behaviors will in turn bring about change in progressively larger groups such as the family and the community or hamlet, and thus form a new synthesis or syncretism.

b. Converts to Adventism will be regarded as deviants to the society and classified as:

1. witches, dangerous to the community and subject to countersorcery, assassination, or other negative sanctions, and/or

2. non-members (Ladinos) who have left the community either psychologically or physically.

c. The converts, if sufficiently numerous in the community, might retain their tribal identity and a large portion of their traditional culture and, though still regarded as deviant,

form an enclave or subculture within the greater community.

III. DEFINITIONS

Those referred to as Seventh-day Adventists in this paper are those Indians in San José who have adopted the tenets of the Seventh-day Adventist faith. Doctrinally they have much in common with Seventh-day Adventists around the world. They are intensely interested in Bible study and the works of Ellen White, and a great deal of time is spent in study, both at home and during meetings. They are hindered in this quest for greater knowledge by the fact that only a few of the men are truly literate. Many men and a few women are able to read in Spanish, but their reading ability is for the most part the proper pronunciation of the words, with little understanding of the content, a common problem in the Maya area (Redfield and Villa 1934: 17).

Little or no Tzotzil literature, Biblical or otherwise, exists in San José. For this reason, those who are truly bilingual and literate are usually called upon to direct the group in study, rendering impromptu translations of written materials throughout.

Some traditional elements have been retained by the Seventh-day Adventists, both in world view and religious expression. These will be described below.

The Catholics of Chiapas are far from being homogeneous in their beliefs and practices. Orthodox Catholicism holds sway over a relative minority, mainly the priesthood, some Ladinos, and, under special circumstances described below, a Maya minority.

As stated above, the Catholicism of the Maya in general is a syncretism of Maya and Orthodox beliefs. It is often referred to as folk Catholicism or Maya-Catholicism (Siverts 1969:180).

Maya Catholicism is composed of elements drawn from both Christian and pre-Columbian Maya beliefs. The world in Andreseño cosmology is a flat square on which mortals dwell. The sky is a vault of 13 levels roughly resembling a pyramid, supported by a large ceiba tree. The 13 levels are inhabited by Jesus Christ (the sun), the Virgin, (the moon) and various Catholic saints (Holland 1964:15). On the earth dwell the earth lords, and the gods of rain, fertility, and wildlife, under the names of Catholic saints. The flat earth is held on the shoulders of four bearers at the corners and the four gods of the cardinal directions. Ancestral gods occupy particular mountains. The underworld is the inverse of the world. It is inhabited by the gods of death and the dead. It is day there when it is night here (Holland 1964:16).

Good relations must be maintained with the deities. House and field ceremonies, prayer, and the maintenance of

a household altar win the support of the ancestral deities, earth lords, and saints (Laughlin 1969:178).

Fiestas honor the saints on their days, especially the patron saint of the municipio, San Andrés. The fiestas are supported by a system of ceremonial offices called the cargo system. Cargos are hierarchical in nature, and one progresses from lowest cargo to one of the higher cargos, performing different duties in each one-year term. There is also a civil hierarchy. The two systems may be combined or participants may alternate back and forth between them. Cargos involve a great deal of expense, especially in liquor for the fiestas, and participants are usually deeply in debt at the end of the term.

Fiestas are three days in length. The church is decorated, and the saint's clothes are washed several weeks in advance. There is music of harp, guitar, and drum, and dancing. There is also a tremendous consumption of aguardiente.

The cargo system in San José appears to be weakening, although the church and its images are maintained, and a small fiesta in honor of San Andrés was held during the time I was there.

Orthodox and Maya Catholicism are often in conflict with each other as well as with Protestant groups (Nash 1960:49).

The Chiapas highlands are divided politically into municipios. A few years ago each municipio could be considered a variant of a common Maya cultural pattern pervading the whole region of Tzotzil and Tzeltal communities, quite similar to the municipios of highland Guatemala described by Tax (1937). Villa (1947:579) describes the classical situation: "Each community can be considered a tribe, differing from all others, defined in terms of territorial limits, its own politico-religious organization, kinship system, linguistic peculiarities, economic resources, costume, and other aspects of its culture. Using only differences of costume one can easily place the inhabitants of the various towns. Local endogamy governs marriage in each community; it is not customary for members of different municipios to intermarry."

Though most of the Tzotzil municipios still hold to this pattern, there have been, as mentioned previously, some changes over time, mostly in the nature of population shifts and expansions which have somewhat altered the settlement picture (Pozas 1959:15, Laughlin 1969:155).

The colonia of San José is an ejido located in the municipio of Pueblo Nuevo Solistahuacán, in the northern highlands of Chiapas. It is one of the exceptions to the classical settlement pattern, being identified, along with neighboring communities, by dress, dialect, and many other culture traits with the municipio of San Andrés Larrainzar.

San Andrés has been described by Holland (1961a, 1961b, 1963, 1964).

Some mention should be made of the use of the term hamlet to describe San José. In many ways the community resembles the hamlet or paraje described by Vogt (1969: 148). Vogt's hamlet is a grouping of households and waterhole groups into a subdivision of the municipio. Each hamlet has its own school, teacher, and agricultural committee. In addition each has its own name and slightly different customs.

However, San José differs somewhat from the hamlets of Zinacantán. To begin with, it is not located in the municipio of San Andrés, though an Andreseño town. Secondly, Pueblo Nuevo does not qualify as a ceremonial center in the classic sense. The settlement pattern of Pueblo Nuevo follows the "vacant town" type described by Tax (1937:431). The municipio is of the type Tax calls "large town" since it is vacant of Indians but appears full because of a large population of Ladinos (Tax 1937:430). Located on a major paved highway, Pueblo is highly ladinized, with political power almost entirely in the hands of Ladinos affiliated with the national majority party (PRI). Comparatively few Indians live in the town, although they converge on it on Sundays and national holidays when it can boast a market of sorts, however, it little resembles the bustling colorful markets traditionally identified with Indian towns.

The Mayance linguist McQuown (1961:141) believes that Tzotzil communities separated from each other linguistically between 250 and 750 years ago. Andreseño is one of those dialects more recently differentiated from neighboring groups. At least 750 years separate Tzotzil from Tzeltal, its closest Maya relative (McQuown 1961:140). Together they form the Tzeltalan division of the Maya subfamily. Other languages of the Maya subfamily spoken in Chiapas are Lacandon, Chol, Tojolobal, Chuj, Ixil, and Motozenteca (Swadesh 1961:150).

Nearly all the women and many older men in San José are monolinguals. Many of the others speak Spanish haltingly and only when necessary.

Physically San José shares an ejido grant with neighboring Rincón Chamula. The towns each have their own schools and political structure, although Rincón is much larger. The two towns are often referred to colloquially by Ladinos unaware of the cultural differences as "Rincón", and the Indians of both groups as Chamulitas, which has derogatory connotations. The two villages bring their patron saints to each other's fiestas, and stand together in land disputes with other communities. Rigid cultural barriers of dialect, dress, and endogamy keep the two communities distinct, however. The inhabitants of Rincón Chamula are Chamulas who, in 1911, influenced by Maderism and the reactionary feeling in San Cristóbal de las Casas,

removed themselves to this area of the highlands (Pozas 1959:27). Andreseños have lived in San José for as long as my oldest informants could remember, and probably came there as a result of the increased post-revolutionary availability of land, coupled with the population pressures which are pushing people to occupy every available meter of cultivable land. Informants in San José expressed a willingness to go as far as Cintalapa, Ixhuatán, or even Veracruz, (although I'm sure the person speaking had little idea where it was) in order to be able to farm in hot country, where one could make more money growing coffee. Pozas reports that in El Bosque where Chamulas and Andreseños have been living since the 1860's, far from their original municipios, that some intermarriage had taken place between the two tribes (Pozas 1959:27).

The subsistence economy of the Andreseños of San José, and the Chiapas highlands in general, is a slash and burn horticulture based on maize, beans and squash. Maize is planted during the dry season (April). Squash is planted with the maize. Different types of beans are planted throughout the year, either in the maize field or in separate patches. Onions, cabbage, potatoes and other vegetables are cultivated with a hoe and digging stick technology. Greens and wild fruits are gathered. Elotes (green ears) are eaten in September. After the ears have reached their full size the stalks are bent over to keep

the rain from rotting them before they dry. The harvest proceeds through the late fall and winter. The harvested ears are stored in the corn crib or tied together by the husks and hung in bundles from the rafters.

After the harvest the old cornstalks are cleared from the milpa and it is hoed, or new milpa is cleared and burned over. This must be done during the brief dry season. The rainy season technically runs from May to October, but periodic Nortes (cold windy rainstorms) drench the area almost until March.

In addition to the basic necessities supplied by their own labor, the men of San José acquire extra cash through the sale of elotes during the season, or by working for a few days or weeks at a time on the coffee fincas of tierra caliente (the hot lower elevations of Chiapas). Or they may purchase oranges in the hot country and sell them at home in the cold country (tierra fría). A woman may make a few pesos of her own through the sale of embroidery to other women or tourists.

Every household has a few chickens and turkeys. The eggs are eaten or sold. The chickens are rarely eaten. Black chickens are used ceremonially (Laughlin 1969:181).

Dogs are valued as watchdogs, and cats to help keep down the rats which eat the corn. A few of the wealthiest have horses, pigs, or cattle. Bees are sometimes kept, and the honey is eaten or sold.

IV. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Among the many theoretical explanations for change in individuals and cultures, three especially have particular application to changes taking place among the highland Maya of today. They are: conversion theory, modernization theory, and what is known by students of the area as ladinization or ladino-ization.

Conversion is really an individual, and therefore a psychological phenomenon. Technically it does not belong among theories of culture change. However, since I have postulated that conversion of a sufficient number of individuals will result in culture change, I feel it would be helpful to discuss the mechanisms of conversion along with explanations for culture changes.

Conversion as a phenomenon held little importance before the advent of the great prophetic religions to the world scene. Most of the ancient peoples, like many isolated and primitive peoples of today, were probably unaware of their "religion" as distinct from other aspects of their culture. The culture functioned, more or less successfully, as an integrated whole, meeting at once the physical, social and spiritual needs of its practitioners with no sharp divisions between these realms. The individual did not have to choose between several views of the world; he was from birth exposed to only one. However,

when the individual meets with a system of beliefs sharply divergent from his own, such as Christianity, to the ancient pagans, or Protestantism to the modern Maya-Catholics, which urges acceptance of the new faith as an alternative to dire consequences either here or in the hereafter, he suddenly perceives his own beliefs as a religious system, where he was aware of none before. He is faced with a clear choice; he must either accept or reject the new alternative. The making of this choice is conversion, "...the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved; that the old was wrong and the new is right" (Nock 1933:7).

True conversion, by its very nature, is an individual act of faith. However, the contact of two greatly differing world views can result in other types of culture change as well; which do not necessarily involve the individual as a vehicle. Borrowing and other forms of culture contact result in changes on the social or political level, rather than the individual level, such as the changes in Maya religion at the conquest (Nock 1933:5).

After the appearance of Christianity or some other profound catalyst brings sweeping changes into a culture, the stresses placed upon the culture may result in a reconversion or revitalization of the old religion as a

response to the now clear division between the old and the new. The choice which at first was only used negatively against the old way now becomes a positive re-acceptance of it as more satisfying and a rejection of the new (Wallace 1956:265).

All of these types of changes have occurred in the Maya area, as we shall see.

Modernization is that process of change which results when a technologically primitive culture meets the atomic age (or the machine age, or steam age, as the case may be). The impact of new tools and ideas bring a concomitant change in nontechnological areas such as social structure.

Modernization has been an important type of change in the highland Maya area, especially in the last 20 or 30 years.

The Protestant religion itself has often been an important modernizing force in the area, especially in its contributions to increasing literacy and opening up channels of communication with the outside world (Nash 1960:53, Redfield 1950:112). By breaking down old beliefs, it often paves the way for new ideas not immediately connected with doctrine to enter more easily, such as the germ theory of disease (Mondiano 1973:21), or for the acceptance of new, nontraditional occupations, such as storekeeper (Reina 1966:44).

Modernization must be distinguished as such from ladinization; that is, the gradual or rapid change of the Indian individual or community to Ladino culture. This is characterized by changes in dress, language, and mode of subsistence (Colby and Van der Berghe 1961:773), a disdain for manual labor, and an orientation toward a national rather than a local culture (Gillin 1947:342).

Because of the general nature of relations between Indians and Ladinos, barriers to ladinization have always been quite high. Nevertheless the process is occurring constantly among a few individuals. Relations between Ladinos and Indians are that of a superordinate minority and a subordinate majority (de la Fuente 1952:79). Feelings of the Ladinos toward the Indians range from contempt to paternalism (de la Fuente 1952:79). The Indians, outwardly docile, harbor inward feelings ranging from distrustful indifference to smoldering or subconscious hatred and resentment (Siegel 1941:420). The fact that there is little overt conflict or competition between the two groups is one reason for the usually smooth surface of relations between them (Redfield 1939:516). As land becomes more scarce, however, open conflicts between Indians and Ladinos will probably also increase.

Modernization often serves to blur the distinctions between Indian and Ladino communities (Woods and Graves 1973:2). However, since rural Ladino culture is also a

traditional culture, modernization will have its effect on both the Ladino and Indian communities, while ladinization is strictly a one-way street. Therefore, while ladinization implies a loss of Indianness, Indian communities can and have become modernized without laying aside those traits such as dialect and dress which distinguish them clearly as Indians. At the same time they strongly resist the ladinization of their members (Adams 1957:272, Mondiano 1973:13).

It is my hypothesis that even more traits may be laid aside in the area of religion in the adoption of Protestantism without a loss of Indian identification. This is contrary to the views of Vogt (1969:269) and others (Colby 1960:242) who have seen the cargo system (rejected by Adventists and other Protestants) as a crucial factor in distinguishing the Indian community from its Ladino environment and defining the nonparticipant as a nonmember of the community. This view is unsupported by the findings of Reina and others who found Protestant Maya wishing to remain Indian in dress, language, and life style, although adhering to alternate religious practices (Reina 1959:17).

The belief in witchcraft plays an important part in controlling behavior and interpersonal relations among the highland Maya. Because of the Tzotzil belief that many if not most instances of illness and death have a supernatural cause (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:134), sorcery is

often suspected if a person dies or becomes ill for no easily explainable reason.

Certain persons are much more likely to be suspected of witchcraft than others. Generally the "other side of town" is regarded as being a hotbed of sorcery, while one's own neighborhood is believed comparatively free of evil intentions. Thomas found this to be true among the Rayón Zoque. San José informants could think of only one brujo residing in the hamlet; but neighboring Rincón Chamula was thought to be unpleasantly overpopulated with witches. Bunzel (1952:298) and Wagley (1949:100) found the same suspicion of neighboring towns in two localities in Guatemala.

A person is more likely to be suspected of sorcery if he has obvious physical or psychological peculiarities. Strange or antisocial behavior draws gossip and suspicion (Wisdom 1940:334). The amassing of extraordinary wealth or power is also a sign that one may be practicing witchcraft for one's own benefit. For this reason older men who have grown wealthy or become powerful as a shaman are likely to be suspect (Mondiano 1973:17). It is reasoned that one who can manipulate the supernatural for good is also likely to use this power evilly for his own benefit.

Fear of being suspected of witchcraft is a powerful agent of social control in these communities. Thomas (1968:88) postulated that this fear was a major motivation

for participation by the Rayón Zoque in religious cult activities. By participating in public and socially approved dealings with the supernatural, one demonstrates that one is not participating in the alternate--and threatening--practice of witchcraft.

Reinforcing this fear of being accused of sorcery is the fact that a large proportion of those so suspected are ultimately assassinated, usually by a supposedly aggrieved party, and with the tacit sanction of the community.

In Nash's study of murder in a Tzeltal town over a period of years she found that half the murders commited were of suspected witches. Significantly, few of the murderers in these cases were brought to justice, and the murder of a man (those killed are always men) accused of being a witch is never avenged (Nash 1967:462).

In Chamula murder to eliminate a sorcerer is not regarded as a crime. Sorcerers are the archcriminals in the minds of the community (Bunzel 1940:385). Killings are usually by shooting or machete, and usually occur during late afternoon or evening. The victim is often hopelessly outnumbered, or attacked from the rear. "A killer is expressing not his own bravery but rather his fears" (Nash 1967:456). "By the time the killing takes place, there is usually social consensus within the hamlet that the man is a witch and must be done away with. Thus, even though the group doing the killing is 'unauthorized', it has enough

community approval to avoid repercussions. It is quite possible that the witches killed are often outstanding 'deviants', who fail to conform to the basic patterns of Zinacantán" (Vogt 1969:412).

Important in the nature of witchcraft among the Tzotzil is the concept of nagualism. Though the term nagual has had a somewhat confusing history, we shall here use Foster's (1944:103) definition of nagual as a transforming witch, or the supernatural animal form into which the sorcerer transforms himself, usually at night, in order to do his nefarious work, (Tzotzil: biktaló on), as distinguished from the tonal or animal spirit companion which all humans have, (Tzotzil: wayijel), and which are guarded in the sacred mountains by the ancestral gods (Holland 1961a:119, 1961b:169).

The concept of the nagual or transforming witch is found throughout the Maya area (Villa 1947:585, La Farge 1947:151). Redfield, Villa, (1934:179) and Blaffer (1972: 8) found in Yucatan and Chiapas respectively that such transforming witches are especially suspected of some type of illicit, unrestrained, or abnormal sexuality.

One who is uncommonly blessed with this world's goods among the highland Maya has a special reason for uneasiness about brujería. Since he is likely to invoke the envy of others, he must fear either its expression as sorcery against him (Bunzel 1952:91) or the suspicion

of others that he has practiced some dark art to gain what he has (Siverts 1969:179), since control of resources gained in peasant communities is commonly seen as achieved at the expense of others (Foster 1965:298). Therefore, to forestall envy and demonstrate his good faith with his less fortunate neighbors, he must expend a large amount of his goods in ritual activity in the hope of neutralizing the hostile feelings and possibly actions which he has aroused (Thomas 1968:3).

PART TWO: THE ROLE OF EVANGELICAL PROTESTANTISM IN MAYA AMERICA

The presence of Protestant alternatives to traditional beliefs and their effects on Maya communities have certainly not been ignored by anthropologists working in the area. Recent literature on the Maya highlands and Yucatan is filled with references to the topic, ranging from brief notes in passing or even complaints, to detailed analyses of the part which Protestantism has played in changing social and political structures.

Only brief mention of the role of Protestantism has been made where the work of the Protestant missionaries has been unsuccessful, or of minimal effect. This was the case in Zinacantán. A Protestant missionary lived in one of the hamlets of Zinacantán during the 1940's. He made no conversions, although people liked and admired him personally. Later the orthodox Catholic hierarchy, heretofore inactive in the area, had him evicted from the community and caused the erection of a Catholic chapel there (Vogt 1969:164).

Tumin (1952:38) recorded 15 conversions to Protestantism over a period of 30 years in San Luis Jilotepeque, Guatemala, by a rather ineffective missionary. Although regarded as odd by their fellow townsmen, the converts

did not suffer any marked social disadvantage. Probably their small number did not pose any great threat.

Bunzel (1952:x) recorded that the Protestant missionaries present in the Chichicastenango area of Guatemala during her study in the thirties were "...generally regarded by the Indians as an intrusive and hostile group who wanted to destroy their religion." During the Easter festival, a time of high emotional tension, the evangelical missionary refused to uncover for the images passing by in the procession; and so had his hat removed for him by the mayordomos (Bunzel 1952:225). The fact that he even attended the fiesta under such circumstances may give some idea as to why hostility ran so high against his group. Bunzel was grateful that the sponsorship of the local priest prevented her from being identified, as were most other North Americans, with this group.

La Farge (1947:ii) found the presence of Seventh-day Adventists and other Protestant missionaries in Santa Eulalia, Guatemala, an irritation and hindrance to his investigations. His avowal that he avoided contact with them at all costs is given credence by his completely misinformed idea of Adventist doctrine (La Farge 1947:100) and his obvious repugnance for anything "evangelical".

Although not a highland Maya group; the Zoque town of Rayón should be mentioned because of its proximity to the Yerba Buena mission. This gave Thomas, who made a

study of witchcraft there, some problems, since he found himself unalterably identified as a doctor and an Adventista.

He tried to deny any association with medicine or the church by refusing to treat the sick and by participating conspicuously in Catholic ritual and practices (Thomas 1968:ii). Seventh-day Adventists, though well-known, have been entirely unsuccessful in Rayón, in marked contrast to Maya as well as other Zoque towns (Thomas 1969: 38). Thomas attributes this failure to the intensity of in-group jealousy and suspicion of outsiders, especially those economically better off; and to the requirement of drink as a show of faith and its importance in ritual contexts (Thomas 1968:38, 120).

Areas in which Protestantism has been quite successful have been described in Yucatan, Chiapas, and Guatemala. Robert Redfield's well known study of Chan Kom presents a view of Protestant conversion in a Maya peasant village of Yucatan.

In the late 1920's or early thirties Protestant layworkers (pig drovers) came into Chan Kom, urging Bible study and presenting Protestantism as a "progressive" religion practiced by city dwellers and North Americans. One of the leaders in the village had already come to value Bible study, and he and other leaders saw the Protestant emphasis on humility, gentleness, and self-sacrifice as a means of improving the village and exhorting

the people in greater devotion to public works, such as the current project of building a school. So they eagerly endorsed the new teaching (Redfield 1950:90).

By the summer of 1932, it seemed that nearly the entire community had become Protestant. The most influential man in the village was working energetically with the missionaries. The Catholic church was closed and the saint's day passed uncelebrated (Redfield 1950:91). Within domestic families the wives and children always followed the husbands and fathers into the new religion; there were no divided households. This is in accord with Maya-America in general where husband and wife are one unit for ritual and public purposes (Redfield 1950:109).

In Oxchuc, a Tzeltal community in Chiapas, Protestantism was introduced by the Wycliffe translators soon after the close of World War II. The establishment of the Presbyterian church in the area, which eventually extended its influence over half the tribe, constituted the establishment of another base of political power in the municipio (Siverts 1960:27). Those who served as informants for the translators working in the area were among the first converted, and the first to rise to positions of leadership in the developing church. Conversion in Oxchuc is also frequently indirectly the result of bonds of friendship or kinship (Siverts 1969:176).

In Cantel, Guatemala, a Quiché town, two forces for change have been at work, without, however, effecting a loss of Indian identity. They are industrialization (Nash 1958:1) and Protestant evangelization (Nash 1960:49). Several Protestant denominations are at work in the area. The most numerous are the Presbyterians, who were also the earliest in the area, followed by the Seventh-day Adventists. There are two or three smaller sects as well. The Protestant denominations are in competition with each other for converts, as well as with folk and Orthodox Catholicism (Nash 1960:49).

Reina recorded a group of 120 Protestants in Chinaulta, Guatemala, a Pokomam community, during the period of his study, who though remaining traditional in life style, dress, and language, adhered religiously to Protestant practices (Reina 1966:92).

I. CONFLICT

In Chan Kom the initial wholehearted adoption of Protestantism by the community later broke down into two warring factions. At first it seemed that this was only a division between two groups of converts who differed over the practice of the new faith. One group were extremists, forbidding both smoking and the cultivation of tobacco, the maintenance of household saints, use of candles, and dancing. Then there were the more moderate

converts, who did not wish to adopt all these austerities. When the missionary was called in to arbitrate between these two factions, he upheld and publicly praised the extremists, choosing only members of this group as leaders, and thus forcing a drawing of lines between the two groups (Redfield 1950:97). Interesting in this context is Redfield's note that "the Protestant movement in Chan Kom presented to the villagers no important problems of faith or doctrine, if by these words it is meant a content of belief as to the nature of God, or the relation of man to God, or as to sin, salvation, or the problem of evil" (Redfield 1950:108). The issues were the effectiveness of one form of ritual as opposed to another, and the rightness or wrongness of certain kinds of personal conduct. What the missionary was apparently unaware of was that the lines of division had been drawn along a schism already existing in the village. This was the struggle for power between two rival extended families. The less powerful family had seen Protestantism partially as a means of extending their power, and so had embraced it eagerly. The more powerful family, though at first appreciating the reform value and modernizing influence of Protestantism, were reluctant to lay aside all their old enjoyable practices. In addition they were alarmed when the new beliefs gave power to their rivals, and especially to untried men younger than the respected leaders of the village. They also experienced

increasing pressure from outlying hamlets, which were remaining in the old religion and turning away from Chan Kom as a center of leadership as a result (Redfield 1950: 99).

A clear-cut division therefore arose between the two factions. This was softened in time by the Protestants' adopting little by little some of the practices which they had abandoned. Except during periods of particular conflict, relations between certain families became so friendly that Catholics on occasion attended Protestant prayer meetings, and Protestants sometimes would attend Catholic novenas, socially, though not ritually (Redfield 1950:105).

By 1948 the original conflict had been nearly abated by the removal of many Protestants from the community and accommodation between the two groups (Redfield 1950:103).

Opposition to Protestantism in Oxchuc was rather severe. The church was set on fire, and principal Protestants were assassinated or attempts were made on their lives. The evangelistas are often accused of witchcraft and heresy because, freed from the enormous expenditures in cash and aguardiente which are necessary to ascend the tribal hierarchy, they are more easily able to save money to invest in goods. In addition they are reputedly more industrious, perhaps because they are not as often in-

ebriated. Oxchuqueros view the accumulation of riches as a sign of witchcraft (Siverts 1969:179).

Violence by Catholics against Protestants was frequently instigated by Acción Católica, a Catholic (Orthodox) counter-conversion movement largely rising in response to Protestantism. Old land feuds often developed into religious disputes. Protestants were expelled from a paraje where the majority were Catholics or Maya-Catholics (Siverts 1969:180).

In Cantel no violent conflict took place, although as noted, the different philosophies competed with each other for converts. Converts to Protestantism were under continuous pressure to abandon their new beliefs, not because of overt hostility on the part of fellow townspeople, but because they are a minority group, left out of many interesting activities (Nash 1960:51).

Shortly after the introduction of Protestantism in Chinautla, political reform on the national level gave Indians the opportunity for the first time to regain power from Ladinos on the local level. Conservative (Maya-Catholic) Indians saw this as a way to strengthen the traditional power structure of the cofradías (religious brotherhoods devoted to particular saints). They overlooked the fact that the community was no longer as homogeneous as before and they were opposed in this drive by both "reform" Catholics opposed to the cofradía rituals,

who had risen like their counterparts in other areas in response to Protestant activities, and the Protestants themselves. Intense antagonism and group competition arose. The Ladinos attempted to take advantage of the conflict to regain control. The liberal elements formed a coalition and gained control, but they were run out of town or jailed when their support on the national level was overthrown. In the following election the Protestants chose not to vote and the Orthodox Catholics sided with the conservatives. Thus they returned to power the traditional faction, strengthened by national conditions which favored Indian political control, which Reina sees as a typical revitalization response of the conservative Maya-Catholics to the shock of culture change (Reina 1959:17).

Protestants in Santiago Chimaltenango, a Mam community of Guatemala, suffer socially and are likely to have few friends. They are considered heretics who believe in a different God from the Catholic one. Becoming a Protestant, however, gives a third option to those who are supernaturally called to become a shaman, who must traditionally either accept the call or die. Becoming a Protestant to avoid being a shaman is considered going to extremes by most Chimaltecos, since "a Protestant must give up drinking, smoking, and sleeping with women, while the chimán only has to stay away from his wife on the nights before he is to make costumbre (witchcraft) (Wagley 1949: 73).

II. CULTURE CHANGE

Besides contributing to the political changes which took place in Chinautla, Protestantism also forced a complete change in the power structure of Oxchuc. The traditional system was a moiety system with a traditional ceremonial and civil hierarchy of offices in which persons served to gain prestige and power. Conflict was settled by compromise and consensus (Siverts 1960:28). The Presbyterian church brought in an ideology which could brook no compromise. Because the Protestants were more informed politically, they set about gaining power in the ways approved by the national government, i.e., campaigns for votes, thus becoming in effect a political party. The power of this party could be contained only "...through the formation of another similarly structured unit, able to compete with it on equal terms" (Siverts 1960:27). A short time after the Protestants had gained a foothold in the area, a counter movement, Acción Católica, was begun by the orthodox Roman Catholic church, heretofore rather inactive in the area. The modus operandi was much the same as that of the Protestants. A group of semiliterate young men, on fire for the "Mother Church" and La Patria, became missionaries for orthodox Catholicism. Many formerly indifferent persons were converted to Roman Catholicism, or, as it was said, "they had returned to

their mother church." Thereafter, two political parties based on competing religious institutions were struggling for power in Oxchuc, but the struggle was conducted within the limits of the Mexican constitution as a competition for votes (Siverts 1960:27). In addition, the Ladinos who traditionally controlled the town began to lose power, and some were ruined financially by the Protestant abstinence from liquor. They threw their weight in with the Catholic faction, a union which Siverts did not see as very promising in the light of the long history of bitterness and distrust between the two groups (Siverts 1969:184).

Other changes which Protestantism brought about in Oxchuc were mainly among its own adherents. These were increased belief in the germ theory as an explanation for disease (Mondiano 1973:13), and the adoption, to some degree, of the "Protestant Ethic" noted by Siverts (1969: 179). Reina (1966:44) noted that Protestants in Chinautla are more likely to be innovators in other areas such as pottery design, as well. Nash found Protestantism in Cantel to be most attractive to the "marginal man". For this reason Protestantism was most attractive to artisans, who tended to be Ladinos or ladinized Indians. Surprisingly, Indian factory workers in the town were among those least likely to be converted, which Nash took to mean that the switch from farming to factory work caused minimal stress. Those who become Protestants, in the Nashes' view, are

those who are seeking some change or reform in their lives, and therefore do not mind the fact that they must give up drinking, smoking, wifebeating, and swearing. They adopt close ties with other members, using the term "brother", and have a friendlier attitude toward strangers. They feel a strong obligation to spread the gospel (Nash 1958:78). Protestants in Cantel are also better off financially because they withdraw from the traditional ceremonial system with its heavy costs in cash, liquor and lost labor. Also, increased educational opportunity is provided in the Seventh-day Adventist school, believed to be better than the public school by the townspeople. Presbyterians provide educational sponsorship to other schools outside the town. The Protestant churches provide to their members the stimulation of communicating and interacting with believers on a national scope (Nash 1960:50). An interesting phenomenon took place especially among the Presbyterians who were the earliest group to enter the area. "By opening up the sacred symbols for discussion in an attempt to challenge the Catholic dogma, the earlier Protestant sects make difficult the crystallization of their own dogma, and pave the way for new sects" (Nash 1960:52).

Although no Seventh-day Adventist converts had been made in Rayón, Thomas (1968:89) attributes the destruction or diminishing of the religious ceremonial

systems in neighboring towns to heavy conversions to Adventism, and to ladinization.

Tax noted in Panajachel, a Quiché town of Guatemala, that while "...honesty is not so firmly established in the culture that it could be taken for granted", Protestant converts were respected both for their teetotaling habits and their strict honesty in business (Tax 1963:19). Wagley (1949:40) noted that the Protestant missionary in Santiago Chimaltenango seemed to have some influence in getting people to register their marriages with the authorities, a formality rarely practiced otherwise.

III. TRADITION

Although many areas of a culture may change under the adoption of Protestantism, many others do not. Already noted is the tendency in many areas for a convert to remain Indian in dress, language, and general outlook (Reina 1966: 92). Protestants in Chinautla continued to share with the rest of the populace their beliefs regarding the evil eye, envy, and witchcraft (Reina 1966:193). Redfield (1950:106) noted that even after the introduction of Protestantism the people of Chan Kom, Catholic and Protestant alike, continued to carry on the ancient rituals of house and field, presided over by the shaman-priest. These were addressed "...not so much to the saints as to the Maya supernaturals of field, forest, and sky." This apparently was done without protest

from the Protestant missionary, whose teaching "had been cut to the cloth of a Catholicism different from that of the Maya village" (Redfield 1950:108). In addition, Protestant meetings were held by the people, gathered before a table covered with an embroidered cloth and bunches of flowers, as in their domestic rituals, again unbeknownst to the missionary (Redfield 1950:91).

In short, Protestantism seems to have had a varied effect in Maya-America. In some areas it made little or no impression, but in others it had a profound impact, not only in the lives of individuals, but in the power structure of the whole community. Even in these areas, we see that much of the traditional remains, and that often outward behavior rather than doctrine or world view is affected.

One response to Protestantism frequently provoked is that it stirs up an otherwise inactive orthodoxy among the Catholics, or revitalizes an ancient Maya-Catholic system in response to attack from without.

Mondiano (1973:83) sees the Indians' basic curiosity and desire to learn, to reason and to truly understand the world, as a reason why Protestantism, with its alternative explanations for many phenomena, has been able to take root in many communities.

PART THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The data for this report were collected during a field trip to the Chiapas highlands September 1973 - February 1974. Most of the research took the form of interviews with Andreseño informants of the village of San José. These interviews were conducted with the indispensable aid of a bilingual (Tzotzil-Spanish) interpreter. I also gained valuable information from Chamula and Ladino residents of nearby Rincón Chamula, students and staff members of Yerba Buena Hospital, and officers of the Southern Mexican Mission of Seventh-day Adventists, Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas. Regular attendance at the Seventh-day Adventist church in San José provided opportunity for observation.

During the latter third of my stay I was privileged to be a guest in the home of an Adventist couple in the village, which gave me an invaluable opportunity for an inside view of daily life, both sacred and secular. I chose this couple because they were childless and therefore had space for a visitor, and because the woman as well as the man had a fair knowledge of Spanish. In addition we were mutually attracted from the start and developed a close friendship.

The rain which persisted throughout the period I was in the highlands made navigating the steep and muddy trails more difficult. But it was an advantage in that the men stay home from their milpas on bad days, making it an ideal time for interviewing. On a rainy day one is likely to find an entire family gathered in their house, with friends and kin, the men sitting around the fire discussing the state of the corn crop or the state of the world, and the women listening quietly while engaged in making tortillas, grinding, or weaving.

The problems of an alien attempting to adapt to a new culture, make friends (or at least avoid making mortal enemies) and generally survive bouts of homesickness, culture shock, and the local protozoa have been well described. In addition to these universal challenges of field work, I was confronted with a special circumstance, the description of which may aid some future investigator in the same area. This was my identification, immediate and irrevocable, with the Seventh-day Adventist church in general and Yerba Buena Mission in particular. This, as noted previously, is a fate shared by all North Americans in the immediate area. It has caused problems for North American anthropologists in many areas. In the case of the topic which I wished to investigate, however, this proved to be an asset instead of a hindrance. The Indian is, usually with good reason, mistrustful of the non-

Indian or foreigner. However, my status as a hermana of the faith allayed to some degree this suspicion among the Adventistas of San José, and to varying degrees made my entrance into their homes and lives easier and more fruitful. Had I attempted to study another population than the Adventists, though, my personal religious affiliation might have had the reverse effect.

My status as a young single woman also influenced my relations with others to some degree. Due to the hierarchical nature of highland Maya social relationships (Holland 1961:123), I felt my age gave me some disadvantage in establishing rapport with older members of the community, especially men, who, though polite, tended not to take me "seriously".

Being single gave me a great deal of freedom, and also made me the focus of much interest and speculation, which though embarrassing at times, did not interfere to any great degree with my purpose. As I went to tell one informant good-bye, before leaving for good, he expressed disappointment that I was going, and said, "Why don't you stay, marry someone here, and settle down? This is a nice place!" The fact that I was a single woman alone in the world, and approaching old maidenhood (over 18) worried some of my Indian friends a great deal.

For the above reasons I felt I had the most satisfactory relationships with women and younger adults.

I also found that a male interpreter served my purpose better than a female would have. I tried using an Indian school girl from Yerba Buena on one occasion, but the fact that shyness is the behavior expected of an unmarried girl around unrelated men, coupled with her inarticulateness in Spanish, made her unsuitable as a translator. In addition, my having the companionship of a boy made the women more at ease about having a strange girl in their homes talking to their husbands in an unfamiliar language.

The population included in this study is basically the members of the Adventist congregation of San José during this period. I use the term "member" loosely, including the 70 members on the church books, backsliders, and interested parties, since characteristically a long time (up to three years) may elapse between conversion and baptism.

The data in this study has been analyzed in the light of recent ethnographic data on the area, and of current theories of culture change and Protestant conversion among the highland Maya.

PART FOUR: DISCUSSION

I. CONVERSION

The first Adventist in San José was Isidro Pérez. About ten or twelve years ago, no one can remember exactly when, Juan Gómez, brother of Isidro Gómez, and later his son Manuel came and preached to the family. Isidro had heard of Adventists before, but he had never spoken to one. Juan invited them down to Yerba Buena. They were afraid to go at first. After they got started they began to go often to the services at Yerba Buena. Other people learned of these visits. They believed that Isidro and his family had become devil worshippers. Some people threatened to kill the new converts, but by this time their new faith meant more to them than their fear, so they continued to go. Once a group of Chamulas from Rincón Chamula came over to San José, surrounded the house, took Isidro prisoner, and even threatened to harm his wife, an exceedingly rare occurrence among the highland Maya (Nash 1967:457). But these proved to be only threats. The community began to put pressure on Isidro to accept a cargo "in the fiestas" (Manuel Gómez 1974), but he refused. He also refused to "cooperate" in the fiestas by contributing money. Because he had refused to contribute money, a group went to his

house while the family was at Yerba Buena, and appropriated a large tom turkey. Isidro felt that this was unjust, and so he and Manuel Gómez went to Tuxtla to complain. However, an official there felt they had no right to protest and sent a letter to this effect to a leader of San José. This man and others made plans to burn down Isidro's house, but fortunately nothing came of them. Instead they went to the Jefe de la Zona and asked him to expel the family from the pueblo (Juana Ruíz 1973). Manuel told him to be strong. "It is not necessary for you to pay the costs of a Catholic fiesta", he said. Called before the magistrate, Isidro was asked why he refused to help in the expenses of the pueblo. He replied that he had paid all nonreligious taxes, but he would not contribute to a Catholic fiesta because he was a Seventh-day Adventist. "You have to pay," they said, "you are obligated to pay, for this is the command of the pueblo" (Manuel Gómez 1974). When Isidro continued to refuse, he was put in jail. But some people began to say that a man had a right to believe as he chose. The Jefe, upon hearing this, decided to free Isidro the next morning, and he did not make him leave the town. He was fined 80 pesos, however, which he had to borrow in Yerba Buena (Isidro Pérez 1973).

The leaders in the persecution of Isidro in San José were Andrés Núñez, Lorenzo López, and Diego Núñez. Andrés and Lorenzo were best friends, and Diego was Andrés'

cousin. They believed the Pérez family were worshipping Satan. Then Andrés' child became sick. He observed that Isidro's children were well, and wondered if it was because they were Adventists. Then his wife became sick, and didn't get well. A man from Tierra Colorada, a hamlet farther up the mountain, passed through San José. He stopped at the Núñez house and gave the boy treatments with hot water, read the 91st Psalm, and prayed. He told Andrés and his wife, Carmela, that they should turn to Christ, the Great Healer. They went to Yerba Buena. Carmela was treated there and got well. Andrés began to study with Isidro, and with Manuel at Yerba Buena. Soon his friend and his cousin were interested too, and there were four Adventist families in San José. Thus Isidro's three main enemies became the first of his fellow townsmen to join him in his new faith. After a time these and other families built a church with money provided by the Southern Mission (Miguel Sánchez 1974).

Factors in Conversion

Kinship and friendship. The main channels through which conversion spreads in San José have been personal relationships. I could find only four individuals of the Adventist church for whom I could not pinpoint a relationship, either by blood or marriage, to the original four member families, and this apparent lack of relationship is very likely due to incomplete data. This is consistent

with the findings of Siverts in Oxchuc (1969:176). One man in San José brought all his sisters and their husbands into the church. Another witnessed to his mother, brothers, and sisters. One man brought in first his wife, then his sisters-in-law, then his mother-in-law, and finally even his father-in-law became interested. All these conversions are not really due to the efforts of only one person, for family members, once converted, become enthusiastic themselves, and they have the active support of the other church members. The gospel spreads through a family like ripples through a pool.

Perceived spiritual and temporal benefits. Fear of death and sickness seem to be an important factor in stimulating interest in the Adventist faith, at least initially. Andrés Núñez first wondered about Adventism when he saw his neighbor Isidro's children were healthy, and his wife's cure at Yerba Buena also impressed him. However, his religious faith eventually deepened into something beyond the appreciation of its physical benefits. Just before I left the area his youngest child died. At the funeral Andrés expressed publicly his faith in the goodness and justice of God, and his hope in the resurrection.

Dionysio Hernández, another young man, had been studying with Andrés Núñez and other church members. Then his mother, an older sister, and a younger sister died in

rapid succession. This tragedy turned Dionysio's attention to his own life. He felt unready to die. The Adventist faith offered him a different way of living and an expectation of life in the hereafter, which he accepted.

Micaela Pérez, Dionysio's mother-in-law, became ill with what she felt was "tuberculosis" (Micaela Pérez 1973). She took various herbs and fasted three days each week. Then Isidro Pérez, her brother, and his wife came and prayed for her, and she got well. She became a believer.

Isidro and Andrés had been visiting with a family for several weeks, but had been unable to get them to visit the church. Then someone in the village was murdered, and the family, apparently frightened by this evidence of man's mortality, began attending church the next week. It is interesting that it should have this effect, because the Adventists in the town saw the murder as a threat to themselves, and immediately began a program of fasting and prayer.

At one time the school at Linda Vista provided a free lunch for the members of the children's Sabbath School, along with an imported Sabbath School program along the lines of North American children's Sabbath School programs. The Indian members had not seen any necessity to differentiate the children's program from the adults. Later the lunch was discontinued, as it was felt that many children came only for the food. The program apparently did not

suffer too much in membership. Indian church members privately expressed contempt for those who would attend "just for bread" (Juana Pérez 1974).

One woman in the town was left with two small children when her husband deserted her. She and her mother, a widow, found comfort for their loneliness at the Adventist church.

Doctrine and ritual. The doctrine of the Second Advent of Christ seems to have a powerful drawing effect on these Indians. Many mentioned it as one of the things which attracted them from the first. It seems natural that the picture of a new earth of peace, prosperity, and perfection should draw those whose daily lot is toil, poverty, sickness and sudden death. Manuel Gómez was taken to the United States by a North American missionary. He was asked to preach in an Adventist church there. He preached in Spanish as the missionary translated. While talking about heaven to the assembled North Americans, he suddenly said: "But you people probably don't want to go to heaven, you already have everything here!" (Comstock 1973).

I do not mean to give the impression that the life in San José is one of unrelieved misery. The Indians of Chiapas are far better off in the physical sense than many other peoples of the world. They are in general happy and contented with their life as it is. As Miguel Sánchez, my friend who took me in, said, "Nuestra vida es muy difícil,

pero también es muy sabrosa." Very few have had the opportunity, as Manuel did, to compare their assets with those of people in other places.

Another strongly convincing factor in conversion is the doctrine of the seventh-day Sabbath. Its Biblical foundation is most impressive to the Indians, who perceive a knowledge of Scripture to be a valuable thing. They are hampered in attaining this knowledge by their inadequate literacy in Spanish.

Marcos López, husband of Micaela Pérez, resisted for a long time the new doctrines embraced by his wife and children. When his wife first became a believer, she did not dare attend the church, because he had said he would kill her if she did. Later, as he learned more about her beliefs, his attitude softened. She could now attend freely, but he would not accompany her. Well on in years but strong and healthy, Marcos was important in San José. He was the Comisariado of the ejido, an important post, and an herbalist reputed to be very knowledgeable. In the height of his antagonism to the Adventists, he had said he would never accept the ideas of a younger man. After his attitude began to change, pride prevented him from retreating from this position, until Manuel Gómez' son, Daniel, who was also my interpreter, showed him from the "Catholic Bible" that the Sabbath was indeed on Saturday. Visibly impressed, he said, "There is no doubt that Saturday

is the right day to keep" (Marcos López 1973). The faces of his wife and son-in-law lighted with joy. The next week he appeared in church, and was soon filling an important role in the Adventist social structure.

Many are attracted by the nature of the Adventist services, which include much singing, preaching, and "audience participation" in Bible study and other activities. One family reported that before becoming Adventists they were "of no religion". They attended both the Catholic and the Adventist services and decided they liked the Adventist service better.

An important point to note is that all conversions, except for the first ones made by the Tabasqueño lay workers, and perhaps other isolated instances, have been through the influence of an Indian layman on his fellows. This is not to discount the effect of the clinic and the school in making known the work of Seventh-day Adventists in a positive way. But given the pervasive distrust of the outsider in the Indian community, it is logical that the first approaches would be accepted more readily from, or perhaps only from one's own fellows. Thus while the clinic and the school have a broad-spectrum role in disseminating a positive image of Adventists and in breaking down prejudice, the actual legwork of evangelism is the province of layworkers and is of a personal nature. Perhaps this is as it should be. The efforts of the San

José brethren are not restricted to their own community. Small companies of believers have arisen in more than one neighboring Indian community as a result of their labors, just as the first seeds were brought on foot over the trails to San José by men of other hamlets. Even some Chamulas, known for their resistance to change (Pozas 1959:15), have become believers.

I was always amazed at how Daniel, or Manuel, another interpreter, boys of 16 and 18, could preach an extemporaneous sermon of an hour or more whenever the occasion demanded, and sometimes when the anthropologist would rather it didn't! Manuel told me that his grandfather, though he could not read, preached regularly on Bible topics which he had learned by memory. These are by no means isolated examples.

The difficulty which nonliterate Indians have in studying all the doctrines of Adventism could be one reason why such a long period of time (often two years or more) tends to elapse between conversion and baptism.

Barriers to Conversion

In addition to community pressure and the strong pull of tradition there are several factors which militate against a change to Adventism among even those who are somewhat attracted to it.

The hierarchical nature of Andreseño society, in which the younger members are subservient and respectful to their elders at all times, is a deterrent to one's accepting a doctrine actively promulgated by men of all ages including young men and even boys. This was a powerful factor in the reluctance of Marcos López, described above, who said he would never accept the ideas of a younger man. This was also a factor in the controversy over Protestantism in Chan Kom (Redfield 1950:95).

Other people are strongly attracted to Adventism, but cannot accomplish the abstinence from alcohol which it requires.

Marriage is another factor in the acceptance of Adventism. It is hard to withstand, as Micaela did, the opposition of a spouse, especially for a woman. Pascual, whose widowed mother and sister are Adventists, was once an Adventist as well, but he is now a Catholic again. The reason he left the church is that after he became an Adventist he wanted to marry a Catholic girl from another community. The ideal is for a man to marry a girl from another community. Her father refused him because he was an Adventist. Pascual went to the Catholic priest in Ixhuatán and asked him if it were possible for a Catholic to marry an Adventist. The priest, somewhat surprisingly, said it was. When Pascual reported this to the girl's father, the man called him a liar and refused his daughter

to him again. After this Pascual left the church, because he said he would never have a chance to get married otherwise. Returning to Catholicism does not seem to have improved his fortunes so far. He is still single.

One man in the town reportedly was interested in Adventism, but not in giving up one of his two wives.

II. CHANGE

Changes Concomitant With Conversion

The reorientation of life to Seventh-day Adventism, with its different views of man, the world, and the future, necessarily involves change: sometimes radical in some traits, at other times a simple reworking of the traditional model.

Home. Conversion and its resulting behavior change has some effect on the organization of home life and its physical appearance. The Adventists of San José live in small rectangular dirt-floored houses, built of machete-hewn pine slats and shingled in the same material. Their houses differ from those of their neighbors in only one respect. The household altar, decorated with flowers, candles and pine needles, and the house cross, universal among Maya domestic groups (Vogt 1969:128), are conspicuously absent. There is now no center of ritual focus in the home, unless it could be the fire around which the

Adventists gather to sing, study, and pray. But the fire is the center of most home activities, sacred and secular, during the cold months.

In San José a few old men still wear the traditional white shorts and shirt with red pin-striped lower sleeves. Many of the younger men have abandoned this costume for modern long trousers and a colored shirt. Nearly all men still wear the white woolen chamarra, or poncho, for warmth. Shoes are huaraches or plastic imitations of modern shoes. Women wear a navy blue cotton skirt and a white blouse embroidered with elaborate designs in red and colored wool over the shoulders and back. The voluminous tube-like skirt is held up by a wide wool belt woven by Chamulas.

Adventist women take pride in their appearance, and appear at church with their uncut hair neatly braided or drawn into a knot at the forehead.

They wear their newest skirt and most elaborately embroidered huipil, with plastic shoes if they can afford them. Following the teachings of their church, however, they affect no jewelry.

The organization of time changes significantly in the daily round of activities. If any day may be said to be more important for Maya-Catholics it is probably Sunday, because of the market, the rare visits of the priest to the church, and because it is the high day of the three-day fiesta. While the market remains important for the

Adventists, the Sabbath becomes the focus of the week. The house is cleaned on Friday, the floor and earth in front of the house well swept, dust blown off the shelves, and the clutter straightened. All the clothes for the next day are clean and the family bathes and washes their hair in the stream late Friday afternoon. For some this may be the only bath of the week. Food is prepared ahead of time for the next day. The Sabbath is spent in rest and abstinence from work.

In addition, the men's work routine is altered by the time they take out during the week for personal witnessing and evangelism, and the Sunday night and midweek services in the church provide other alternate uses of time.

Education. Conversion provides a motivation for education heretofore lacking. Colby suggests the little use which the Indian has for books or reading is a result of the fact that little literature in either Spanish or Tzotzil exists which is really relevant to his daily life (Colby 1960:248). The Seventh-day Adventists, by contrast, have an intense desire to read and study the Bible and the books of Ellen G. White. It is unfortunate that no translations of Mrs. White's books exist in Tzotzil. Even the Wycliffe Bible translations in Tzotzil do not seem to be in use in the aboriginal churches. Manuel Gómez, the lay preacher who worked for a time at Yerba Buena, made a

translation of a number of popular hymns into Tzotzil and printed a small hymnal. But the Spanish hymnal seems to be more popular, even in Manuel's own church.

Diet. The diet of the area is based on maize in all its forms. Maize is eaten fresh as elotes, and the dry kernals are also boiled with quicklime and ground into a dough. This dough, ground in a grinder or on a metate, is mixed with water to form a drink called pozol, which is drunk at midmorning "to give one strength", or late in the evening. It is often offered to guests. Ground twice, the dough is used to make tortillas, which are an invariable ingredient of every meal, or tamales. Dry cornmeal is burned and used to make a hot sweet drink called piñole. Together with beans and squash, the maize forms a nutritionally adequate diet. In addition various vegetables, wild greens, and fruit are consumed to vary the diet.

Given the traditional Adventist emphasis on healthful diet, some changes might be expected in this area.

The eating of "unclean" foods such as pork, lard, rabbit, and insects is discontinued by the Adventists. This makes relatively little change since these things are seldom eaten even by non-Adventists. Coffee is not used, and chili only "sparingly", although the term sparingly may undergo a wide variation in interpretation by Mexican and North American palates respectively. The most con-

spicuous aspect of dietary reform among North American Seventh-day Adventists, vegetarianism, is unheard of among the Indian Adventists. This is not surprising, since it is not practiced by Ladino Adventists, who therefore somewhat understandably have not passed the idea on to their Indian brethren, though they themselves are acquainted with it. The whole question is academic anyway, since poverty makes the Indians de facto vegetarians 360 days in a year.

Temperance. The most obvious change in the line of health reform is the abandonment of the use of liquor. Alcohol consumption among the highland Maya is very considerable, for drinking forms a large part of all ritual and social encounters. Drinking as a form of worship has deep pre-Columbian roots (Bunzel 1940:382). Children are introduced to drink early in life. Ritual drinking takes place at fiestas, during ceremonies, weddings, and funerals. Aguardiente is the major expense in cargo-holding. Drunkenness often leads to violence and murder. Physical deterioration leads to death at an early age for men, who drink more than women, leaving many women widows (Bunzel 1940: 372).

The Chamulas are regarded as the worst drinkers by other Indians and Ladinos alike. "In Chamula alcohol has displaced all forms of aesthetic expression, games, intellectual pursuits, conversation, and companionship, and has reduced sex to a role of minor importance as a source of pleasure (Bunzel 1940:381).

While the Andreseños are not quite as dypsomaniacal, liquor nevertheless is an important part of their life. Imagine then, the tremendous change for the individual from a posh-saturated life to a teetotaling one. This alone, aside from the theological necessities, makes withdrawal from the cargo system imperative for the Protestant. The gaps in other areas are somewhat easier to fill. Soft drinks have replaced liquor as the beverage consumed ceremonially at the graveside in a funeral. Gifts of liquor, traditionally a large part of the bride price, are now replaced by food and other articles. A gift of liquor traditionally accompanied an important request, such as borrowing money. Now other goods are substituted here also.

Another area of change is that of wife beating, which, though it would be scandalous if done while the husband was sober, is excused and not taken too seriously if he is drunk and therefore not responsible (Bunzel 1940: 375). This is one ordeal of which the Adventist wives are relieved.

The desire to stop drinking is sometimes a powerful motivation for becoming a Protestant. In Cantel, Nash reported, becoming a Protestant was equivalent in some cases to joining Alcoholics Anonymous (Nash 1960:50). The waste of time and money, and the deaths related to liquor, are often deplored (Bunzel 1940:377), and its

destructive physical effects are recognized (Pozas 1962: 108).

Abstinence is seen as "something better" and extremely desirable, could one but achieve it (Juan Pérez 1973). The pull of the ceremonial system is too strong, however, for one to become an Adventist merely to stop drinking, and one must be convicted on another level in order to be motivated to leave the entire complex of activities which entail drinking.

World view changes. The same terminology used to communicate Seventh-day Adventist beliefs is also heavily encrusted with the nacre of traditional meanings and symbolism. One cannot help but wonder how much of this remains to color the world view of the Adventist believers. It would be an interesting topic for further study by one fluent in Tzotzil.

In the areas of sharpest difference between the two religions there has clearly been a break with the past.

The major deities of the Maya pantheon--the saints, the earth lords, and other supernatural figures--have been abandoned by the Adventists. My informant Miguel Sánchez was describing to me how "the Catholics" believe the moon to be the Virgin, and the sun to be Jesus Christ. He said that they believe this because "they've only studied the Catechism, not the Bible." The Bible, and what it is believed to say has become the supreme authority. Miguel

informed me that one could not marry one's cousins "because the Bible says not to". It is to be expected that there will be a complete loss of many of these traditional beliefs if Adventism becomes established and passes through several generations.

The belief in minor supernaturals, not so specifically attacked by Adventist doctrine, seems to persist in a form. The traditional Pukuhetik (Tzotzil), various classes of frightening evil beings or spirits (Vogt 1969: 304) which prowl at night (Guiteras 1961:190), are related etymologically to Puch, or Puh Ku, the ancient Maya god of death (Guiteras 1961:293). In Adventist belief the entire complex has been modified to fit the Adventist concept of the devil and his fallen angels. This idea already existed in the concept tentación, one translation of pukuh which is used in the sense of the devil or Satan, the embodiment of evil and temptation. The Adventists, like their traditional counterparts, fear the dark hours, and believe that pukuh is stalking about the mountain trails, waiting for the unfortunate or the foolish one who goes out to the bathroom alone. Pukuh, for the Adventists, also has a nonsupernatural meaning as well, which is the assassin, (Tzotzil mataról), believed to be seeking his victims at night, a belief also found among the Mam of Guatemala (Wagley 1949:30). After someone was murdered in the village, the fear in the isolated household group where I stayed reached fever pitch. Of the

four households, one was a widow and her daughters, and in two others the men had departed to work in hot country. The one remaining house with a man present became a haven for the frightened women during this time, nightly doubling its usual occupancy of six. The fears, though their psychological basis was partially supernatural, were grounded in very real events.

The murder in San José and the reported threats to Adventist church members was the initial stimulus. The periodic episodes of barking by the dogs during the night, who do not bark at people they know, and the disturbed earth and grass found in the trail and courtyards which were swept clean each day and watched carefully, gave evidence that someone had gone by during the night. Murders undeniably occur at night with more frequency, but it is unlikely that the same matarói would have tried to improve his score in the same vicinity so soon after one murder. My friends were unconvinced by this argument, and responded to the perceived threat with action in both the spiritual and physical realms.

A program of fasting and prayer was initiated against the murderer, who was believed to be a magician who could stalk about the house without waking anybody up. The door was barred thoroughly and Miguel borrowed a rifle, making any nighttime visitors to the hillside take their lives in their hands, as his wife's brothers, and two visitors from

Yerba Buena, discovered. An attitude of mixed fear, humor and fatalism was apparent. Miguel and Juana seemed to enjoy watching me, and each other, start when the dogs began barking, and they cried "viene pukuh" in a humorous stage whisper which belied the anxiety in their eyes. Eventually this began to tell on my nerves and I threatened to return to Yerba Buena. Miguel's response reflected the mixed feelings which he had. "Oh no! Don't go!" he said. "There is no reason to be afraid. If we get killed, we get killed. Besides, I am a man, and we can all hide in here under the bed."

The Adventists perception of the world and natural events remains much the same. Throughout the Maya area an eclipse triggers a response of fear and attempts to frighten it away with loud noises and prayers (Redfield and Villa 1934:206, Pozas, 1959:192). The prospect of an eclipse frightened some Adventists, especially women, who thought that it might last for 20 days. It was viewed as less frightening by the men, who nevertheless devoted some time to serious discussion of the matter and also to the expected appearance of comet Kohoutek. When the time for Kohoutek's appearance arrived and it proved a disappointment, (no one in San José was able to distinguish it) it was said that it could be seen from Sonora, in Simojovel, and other locations.

Most Indians, Adventists included, have no very clear concept of geography beyond Tuxtla Gutiérrez. Mexico is a distant, semi-mythical place like the United States. There are four classes of people--Indians, Ladinos, whites, and Negros. Far away in the forest live the Lacandones, "...a people very different who do not know religion (Adventism)" (Miguel Sánchez 1974). They are reputedly cannibals. In other areas they are regarded as living at the edge or under the earth (Tax 1959:128). There is no concept of their being fellow Maya.

While the Maya curing ceremonies involving sacrifice of a chicken, candles, incense, prayer to the gods, and the visiting of sacred cross shrines located at roads, caves or rivers, are eschewed as witchcraft and ineffective by the Adventists (Micaela Pérez 1973), many traditional concepts of health and illness remain. The humoral system of hot and cold remains an explanation for disease and a guide in the use of foods and the timing of activities (Juana Pérez 1974). Also the concept of evil eye, Ojo, (Tzotzil: kel tzát) is intact. Ojo is a disease of infants characterized by diarrhea and vomiting, and caused by a person whose affection and subconscious desire for the child makes him sick. The prevention is carefully shielding the baby from all but the immediate family, and the cure consists of passing twigs of liquidambar over the baby, then breaking a raw egg and looking for the eye "drawn" in the yolk.

When an Indian becomes ill he turns first to his own knowledge of herbs and natural remedies. If this fails he may turn to an herbalist (not necessarily the same as a curandero or sorcerer) with a greater knowledge. Significantly, the herbalist is referred to by the Indians in Spanish as enfermera, "nurse," while the curer is translated médico, "doctor," or brujo, "witch," depending on whether his friends or enemies are describing him. Prayer also helps. There are midwives who care for expectant and parturient mothers. If the patient still has no relief he may go to the school teacher in Rincón Chamula, who dispenses injections and pills, buy patent medicine in Pueblo Nuevo, or go to the clinic at Yerba Buena. The clinic is considered very expensive and only utilized as a last resort. This accounts for the many miracle cures and last minute revivals which the staff there are required to perform. One informant, a good Adventist lady, went to a school teacher in Rincón, who diagnosed her as being an alcoholic and gave her a shot of vitamins. Later at Yerba Buena she was diagnosed as having tuberculosis. A tragic, but illustrative case is that of Andrés Núñez, whose youngest daughter died at the age of two, and who, ironically had first become interested in Adventism because he was impressed by cures from illness and the clinic at Yerba Buena. The child, never very strong, had a severe infestation of intestinal parasites. As she grew worse and worse it was finally decided to take her to

Yerba Buena, but it was too late and she continued to worsen. As she neared death, the parents took her home again, because the mother did not want her baby to die in the hospital.

Ritual Changes

Home worship. Ritual in the Maya household includes the various curing ceremonies and household and agricultural rites. These all involve prayers and offerings of incense, liquor and meat or a chicken. They center around the cross shrines outdoors, or the altar of the household saint.

In the traditional Andreseño household, daily prayer is offered by every adult morning, noon, and night (Laughlin 1969:179). In the Adventist household there is a morning and evening worship including prayer and hymn singing, and grace is offered before each meal. Bunzel (1952:43) records grace being offered by the Quiché of Chichicastenango.

Vogt describes Zinacanteco prayers as lengthy, being chanted in long rapid phrases broken only by breathing, and offered in a kneeling position (Vogt 1969:458). Adventist prayers in worship are always made in the kneeling position. The door of the house is always shut, and the fire put out, making the atmosphere dark, close, and smokey. I asked why the fire was put out, and was told it was to cut down on the smoke, but actually it increases

it. Prayer may be offered by the oldest man and his wife, all the men, or everyone present. Prayers are long and have a sort of tonal rhythm, starting low pitched and rising toward the end of each phrase. If more than one or two people pray it can mean kneeling continuously for a half hour or more.

Candles and incense, important parts of the traditional Maya Catholic ritual, have been eliminated by the Seventh-day Adventists. During the period of fasting a daily offering was collected each morning in a bowl filled with rose petals in the Isidro Pérez home, where worship for the waterhole group was held. The other families of the group each dropped in their pesos and centavos in the course of the worship service. Roses and other flowers are used extensively throughout the Maya area in religious ritual (Redfield 1950:91, Bunzel 1952:56). Roses accompany requests for aid from the saints and ancestors in shrines in Chichicastenango (Bunzel 1952:273), and are sprinkled around the base of the shrine in Zinacantán (Vogt 1969: 394). At first glance it appears that roses as an element of sacrifice or offering have been brought across into Adventist ritual. However, the flowers, unlike candles, incense, food, or aguardiente, are always described as accompanying the offering, rather than actually forming a part of it (Bunzel 1952:273). It could be, then, that the accompanying flowers are seen as the proper way to approach

God with an offering, somewhat like the felt-lined brass plates of our own culture. I offer this only as a conjecture. A similar instance is the use of fresh pine needles, or juncia, which are extensively used by Maya-Catholics, Ladino Catholics, Seventh-day Adventist Indians, and Seventh-day Adventist Ladinos alike, in decoration for important occasions.

Formal worship. The Catholic priest appears only rarely at the church to conduct mass. The only sacrament universally accepted by Maya Catholics is baptism, although confirmation and marriages are performed occasionally in a few communities (Laughlin 1969:169).

The Adventists center their formal meetings around the little church which is within sight of and almost as large as the Catholic church. Meetings take place on Saturday, Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday.

The Sabbath begins at sunset Friday night. Those who live close to the church attend a vesper service which consists of a song service, prayer, and a sermon or talk. Those who live farther away hold their own worship at home, so as not to have to walk a great distance over the trails late at night.

Sabbath School begins about 9:30 A.M. on sunny days. On dark days it often begins later, since the sun is the only clock. The church is a plank structure with a dirt floor and a tin roof. A group from Linda Vista

conducts a children's Sabbath School outside, otherwise the children would be expected to meet with the adults. Two rows of backless pews fill most of the church. The men sit on one side, the women on the other, a practice common to Indian and Ladino churches of all denominations in Chiapas (Vogt 1969:501). If very few are in attendance the men may sit in the front of one side and the women in back of them. In the front of the church, still on the earthen floor, is a table and chairs for the Sabbath School leaders. Behind this is a raised wooden platform with a lectern and chairs for those who conduct the church service. The wall behind the platform is adorned with Missionary Volunteer Society posters and picture rolls. High on the wall is a small green cross with Sallman's popular picture of Christ tacked to it.

Sabbath School is conducted much like Sabbath Schools anywhere, beginning with a song service and silent prayer, the traditional opening song, prayer, special music, if anyone is present who feels the spirit, lesson study, and closing prayer. This is Sabbath School in its most elaborate form. Depending on how many are present and who is leading, it may be infinitely simpler, consisting only of prayer and lesson study. Lesson study is conducted in Tzotzil, and comments from the Bible, the Sabbath School lesson booklet, and Mrs. White's books, must be translated by the leaders, making preaching and lesson study exclusively the province of those who are literate in Spanish.

During the hiatus between Sabbath School and church, members drift outside to talk or listen to the lively proceedings of the children's Sabbath School, or sit inside, quietly visiting. The women use this opportunity to put their tithe in the envelopes and get one of the men to write their names on the outside.

Church is much like Adventist services elsewhere, except for the problems of text translation and the fact that it is entirely conducted by laymen. A typical service would be as follows: silent prayer to open the service, the singing of the doxology, a hymn, prayer, special music (members of the church may play guitars or sing, or visitors from other villages or the mission may contribute), another hymn, the collection of the offering, and the sermon, followed by another prayer. The prayers are extremely long.

Sabbath afternoon is spent resting or visiting until the time for Sociedad de Jovenes, which occurs about three or three-thirty in the afternoon. This is attended by all, but the youth and young adults seem to take the lead. This is about the only time younger people take any forward part in conducting church activities. Actually, it is only the men, old or young, who have anything to do with leadership. Like "M.V." societies throughout Mexico, the emphasis is on enthusiastic singing, Bible knowledge games, the matutina (morning watch texts), and prayer.

The Sociedad often lasts until sundown, when it ends as a vesper service. If it ends sooner private evening worship is held in the home.

Meetings with the emphasis on prayer and Bible study are held on Sunday and Wednesday nights.

Non-church rites. A marriage in traditional Andreseño culture is initiated by the boy, who, when he has chosen a girl, visits her father bearing gifts of food and liquor. He may have to return several times before the gifts are accepted. If they are accepted, he knows he is, too. Then he returns a second time with his family, and plans are finalized. The third visit is the wedding. The families eat together. The boy brings the girl a new skirt and blouse, and his mother gives her ollas and other necessary articles for setting up housekeeping. Sometimes the girl can start proceedings by getting her father to suggest marriage to the boy. If the father refuses to give a girl to her suitor, the boy may kidnap the girl anyway; but this is rare.

After the marriage the couple lives with the boy's parents until they have several children. During this time the boy's mother is in charge of the girl. Couples may marry when the girl is as young as twelve and the boy fifteen. A girl should not speak to any unrelated men until she marries. Divorce may occur if the girl is lazy or if she cannot have any children, but the boy is supposed

to find out beforehand if she is a good worker. If the man treats his wife badly she may leave him and go back to her parents. People who have been married once are usually rejected as possible mates by those entering marriage for the first time (Manuel López 1973).

Adventist marriage follows the traditional pattern, with the exception of liquor as a part of the bride price. The case of one couple in San José who married in the Adventist church instead of the household ceremony, was related with amusement by others, since both the bride and groom later left the church. Maya-Catholic marriages are seldom solemnized in the Catholic church (Laughlin 1969: 190).

The absence of alcohol is conspicuous at Adventist funerals. Otherwise there are many similarities to the traditional funeral. The funeral is not conducted in the church, but the body is prepared in the home and then carried down to the cemetery. The deceased Seventh-day Adventist is bathed and laid out in his coffin with his possessions by an elderly person, as in Zinacantán (Vogt 1969:218). All the shavings from the homemade pine coffin are collected and carefully burned. The house of the deceased is filled with people mourning softly. The coffin is carried down to the cemetery, followed by a trail of mourners. At the graveside, those who bury the dead wash every vestige of the grave earth from their hands as in

Chamula and Chenalhó (Menget 1974:212, Guiteras 1961:142), showing that there is still fear of the "death air" which clings to a corpse (Wisdom 1940:330). The body is buried with the head to the west, the direction associated with death among the ancient Maya (Holland 1964:16).

Aside from these similarities the service diverges sharply from the Maya-Catholic. A soft drink is served at the graveside to the assembled mourners instead of the traditional aguardiente. Hymns are sung which are appropriate to the occasion, such as "Someday the Silver Cord Will Break," "God Be With You 'Til We Meet Again," and "When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder." Long sad prayers are offered. Everyone weeps with quiet but heartfelt sorrow. The Adventists, however, expect to be reunited with their loved ones at the resurrection. Therefore it is not so important whether the grave is marked or not; because "God knows" where they are buried. The Maya-Catholics believe the deceased will remain in the underworld for as many years as he lived on this earth, and will then be reborn in another person of the opposite sex. Until this time they reunite yearly with their living relatives in the cemetery, on All Soul's Day, who offer them candles, food, and drink (Laughlin 1969:193). During this time the cemetery comes alive with greenery as masses of pine boughs and needles are used to decorate the graves. The Adventist graves remain unadorned and unvisited because their occupants are believed to be asleep, awaiting the resurrection.

Fasting and feasting. An interesting aspect of religious behavior is fasting. Fasting has antecedents both in Maya-Catholic and Seventh-day Adventist religious tradition.

Seventh-day Adventists generally fast when an especial nearness to God and freedom from worldly concerns is desired, as in preparation for communion, requests for healing, or in some great trouble or perplexity. Fasting is considered to be not an end in itself but a means of subduing carnal nature to spiritual enlightenment, as in the injunction, "fast and pray".

Fasting to the Maya-Catholic is a necessary preparation for approaching the gods, part of a rigid formula for obtaining what is desired (Guiteras 1961:295). Micaela Pérez fasted three days each week during her illness just before her conversion, in an effort to be cured. In fasting in Chenalhó one may eat fruit, pumpkin, or sweet potatoes, and drink water, but eat no food, that is, maize (tortillas or pozol), or meat, until after four P.M. (Guiteras 1961:250).

The fast as practiced by the Adventists of San José contains elements of both these traditions. Fasting was begun by the Adventist congregations in San José and other communities after it was reported that the lives of three of the most active brethren in the church had been threatened. Coming as it did on the heels of a pistol murder in the

town, the threat created a great deal of anxiety among the believers. One response to this anxiety was the fast. For three weeks the Adventists of the entire area, San José, Arroyo Grande, Palmarcita, Sonora, Zaragosa, and Manzanilla, fasted from dawn to sunset every Thursday, Friday, and Sabbath. On Sabbath of the third week, members from all over converged on San José, ending their fast together in a reunión involving a large quantity of food.

The fast had many similarities to Maya fasts. One was the period of three days of each week devoted to fasting (Micaela Pérez 1973, Guiteras 1961:250). Another was the types of food avoided in fasting. Adventists consumed fruit and sweet potatoes freely during the daytime, like their Maya-Catholic counterparts. A large, even elaborate meal is eaten each evening after fasting by both Adventists and Maya-Catholics (Guiteras 1961:250).

Fasting by the Adventists is accompanied by much praying as well. Members meet in larger groups than usual for prayer meetings. As noted above, an offering was collected every day. Maya-Catholics often abstain from sex during a period of fasting (Guiteras 1961:250). I have no data on this respecting the Adventists.

What the Adventists actually feel they accomplish by fasting is interesting to speculate. Since they have retained much of the Maya form of fasting, could they not possibly have also retained much of the traditional

rationale as well, substituting only the deity which they are approaching and the nature of their petition? I have no answer as yet to this question. But one cannot avoid asking it, considering that the difference between the Maya petitioner's motivation for fasting, and that of the orthodox Adventist is extremely subtle, or in some cases may not exist at all.

The reunión took place on the third Sabbath, a cold rainy day. Church had been full of men representing the various other colonias, and afterwards they and many of the local church members who were to participate, having nowhere else to go, picked their way up the streaming trails to the house of Marcos López, where the supper was to be held. Larger than most, and tightly built, it provided a warm refuge from the fierce "Norte" raging outside. Inside the house the crackling fire divided the men seated on benches borrowed from the church, on one side of the house, from the women seated on low "women's" stools on the other side. While the men exchanged news from the various colonias and discussed the situation at hand, the women cooperated in the food preparations which would take several hours, furiously washing, chopping, and boiling cabbage, refrying beans, steaming rice, and warming the mountains of tortillas which each woman had prepared the week before in her own home. They were still cooking when the men left to attend Sociedad de Jovenes, and when

they came back. At six the meal began. Since about 40 people were present it was eight o'clock before all had eaten. The visiting men were served first, standing around a high table also borrowed from the church. Only about ten could eat at one time. Then the local men had their turn at the table, followed by the women and children, who ate on their stools on their side of the fire. Marcos and his wife served everyone, she passing the food to him and he passing it to the guests. After everyone else had eaten, they also ate. Two men from Sonora had gone to Tuxtla the day before and purchased a large box of religious books and tracts. They presented everyone there with a Centinela, and showed them their books, selling a few. About 9:00 P.M. pinole and herb tea were served. A beverage is usually taken about this time of night in the home, only it is usually pozol.

The visitors were parcelled out to various homes. About ten o'clock people began going home. Those who were to sleep in Marcos's house, about ten or fifteen people, bedded down around the fire, but kept up a lively religious discussion until about 1:00 A.M. Many of the visitors returned for breakfast the next day. Discussion and fellowship continued until about noon, when the last departed for their homes.

The reunión was the climax of the weeks of fasting and prayer. It seemed to symbolize a drawing together of the members of the San José church, and of all the Adventist

churches in the area, in the face of a common threat. It was a symbol of the unity of believers, and of the believers with God.

Changes in Social Relationships

Intra-group relations. The members of the San José church share a common doctrine. They unite several times each week in worship. They close ranks to face danger, and rejoice at the success and expansion of the church.

However, a divisive force is also operating in the church. It is envy, a traditional instrument of social control in peasant communities (Foster 1967:154). The envy operating within the San José church is a result of its corollary, what Foster has called the "image of limited good," in which each minimal social unit, in this case the nuclear or extended family, is seen as in perpetual struggle with like units for limited resources (Foster 1965:302).

Members of the church gossip about one another incessantly. Other people's actions are invariably construed in the worst possible light. If someone acquires some article or benefit which others do not have, he is said to have acquired it dishonestly, or to be planning to use it for some less than honorable purpose. If someone acquires some article or benefit, he conceals it from his neighbor for fear that his neighbor's envy may lead him to gossip or steal. This image also operates to a degree among Ladino

Adventists of a peasant background. If this behavior seems to fall short of the Christian ideal of charity, then perhaps it had better be construed as a syncretism or carryover from the past. Looking at it from the missionaries' point of view, it is hard to say how a trait so deeply a part of peasant culture could be modified. One young Ladino preacher tried sermonizing on the evils of gossip and envidia, and after the amens had died away his congregation continued their traditional behavior, unaware that anything was amiss.

The North American, anthropologist or missionary, has his own problems as he enters this system. First, because he has more, in terms of economic goods, he will be envied. However, because he comes from outside the system, he is not seen as directly in competition with those in it. But he is likely to be viewed with suspicion anyway: what does he want?

Secondly, when he enters the system, he himself becomes a "limited good". If he bestows benefit on one segment of the population, he is regarded by them with jealous and proprietary feelings, and by the others as a good of which they are being unfairly deprived. In this situation, he is navigating between Scylla and Charybdis. No matter what he does, someone will be dissatisfied. The best course is to follow the native custom of keeping everything as secret as possible. In this he will have

the full cooperation of those he is benefiting. He should always try to get his "money's worth" in terms of data or whatever, and make it clear that this is what he was after. Otherwise he will leave someone agonizing over what exactly the foreigner expects of him in return for the blanket, medicine, or trip to town which he himself received.

Familial relations. Family relationships, like those among non-Adventist Maya are in general warm and congenial. Two relationships--those between brothers, and between mother- and daughter-in-law (Cancian 1964:542)--remain areas of potential strain among Adventists as among their Catholic counterparts.

The inheritance is divided among the sons (Laughlin 1969:166), causing strain between brothers. The proto-kinship type of the Tzotzil speakers is believed to have been of a patrilineal type (Guiteras 1952:104), but kinship terminology among the Andreseños is now of the Hawaiian type (Laughlin 1969:169), extending incest taboos to cross and parallel cousins (Miguel Sánchez 1974). Residence after marriage is usually patrilocal or virilocal. When it is patrilocal there is often conflict between mother- and daughter-in-law.

One relationship, that between spouses, is improved in Adventist homes, since the husbands no longer drink or beat their wives. I observed many verbal and non-verbal demonstrations of affection between husbands and wives,

often between a pair who had been married many years. Often these displays took a bantering, playful tone. Spouses sometimes engage in a mock argument. As in the case of the traditional Maya, husband and wife operate together as a ceremonial unit (Redfield 1950:109), unless they are divided religiously, as were Marcos López and his wife. After his conversion, however, these two again functioned as a unit, as they demonstrated in hosting the reunión which climaxed the fast.

Conflict occurs between family members who have been divided by religion. Pascual Núñez, who gave up Adventism to have a better chance at marriage, was inclined to make life difficult for his mother, sister, and brother, by his truculent opposition, especially since his mother and sister, both widowed, had to live with him. Because Andreseño women do not inherit land (Pozas 1959:15), a widow is dependent on the generosity of a son or other male relative. This is not true in Chamula, Huistán and other areas, where women do inherit (Guiteras 1948:48). In Chamula, a man needs a woman to make tortillas and keep his house, but a widow is not likely to remarry, even though asked, since she has her land, and in addition Chamula women raise sheep and so have a cash income with which to hire laborers (Bunzel 1940:379). Andreseño women have no sheep and no land, so they "need their husbands" (Miguel Sánchez 1974).

There is much affection between parents and children, especially small children. Older children are left on their own more and given quite a bit of responsibility, though they still have time to play. The boys go to school. The children are important helps to the parents, and the parents also come to their aid when necessary. Children are much desired. A childless couple is considered poor and will adopt a child if possible.

Modifications in the hierarchical nature of social relations. The inequalities in social relationships are expressed in terms of major and minor or junior/senior (Vogt 1969:238). One expects deference and respect from one's juniors in age or authority, and renders it to one's elders (Guiteras 1948:51). Traditionally this was expressed with a bow on the part of the younger man, the elder responding with a pat on the head (Manuel López 1973), although I never observed this behavior in San José.

Elder siblings are differentiated from those younger, in kinship terminology. Women are minor and men are major. One who has acquired power through progression through the cargo system, through practicing as a shaman, or by acquiring wealth also gains prestige (Guiteras 1961: 73).

Much of this system remains intact among the Adventists. Men are still "mayor" to women and lead out in all religious activities. I never saw a woman assume

leadership in an Indian service, except on two occasions, both involving girls from outside the community (one was from Yerba Buena), who were heavily ladinized in all other respects. Both the girls took it upon themselves to lead, they were not asked.

Older men also assume the leadership over those younger, almost automatically, it seems. Marcos López, before his conversion, was a powerful man in San José. His knowledge as a curer, and his position as comisariado of the ejido, the most powerful position in a colonia (Miller 1965:56), made him in a sense a cacique, a man of ability and respect who has great authority and influence though he may or may not hold formal office (Vogt 1969: 285).

When Marcos became converted, he immediately became the real informal leader of the group. Even though younger men with greater scriptural knowledge continued to preach and conduct the services, it was the still unbaptized Marcos who took charge of the plans for the reunión, collected the funds, and sponsored it in his home. He continued to serve as comisariado, settling land disputes and other problems. The conversion of Marcos and others seems to negate the assertion that it is always the marginal man, dissatisfied or powerless in his own culture, who is attracted to Protestantism (Colby 1960:242, Nash 1958:85). It remains to be seen what effect, if any, the conversion

of an influential man like Marcos will have on other non-Adventists of San José.

The precedence of young men over old in church leadership created problems among the Protestants of Chan Kom (Redfield 1950:95). In San José the very young men are only allowed to lead out in the "Young People's Meeting", or when most of the elders are absent.

Age and rank seem also to obtain in the seating arrangements on formal occasions, like the reunión, just as they do among traditional Maya (Bunzel 1952:43). Like the Maya-Catholic hosts, Marcos and his wife served from senior to junior (in rank), old to young, and male to female, and themselves last (Vogt 1969:241).

Relations with the community. Relations of the Adventists with their community are ambivalent and complex. They are still integrated members of the community, dependent on its ejido for subsistence, united with its other members in conflict with other communities and in identification as residents of San José, and as Andreseños as opposed to Chamulas or Ladinos. But they are often in periodic conflict with their neighbors, mainly over the cargo system. They have a higher loyalty as Adventists which unites them into an enclave distinct from their neighbors, while at the same time giving them bonds with other Adventists which transcend community and ethnic barriers.

Though the intense opposition to Adventism which greeted its arrival in the town has died away, there are periodic reminders that hostility still lies just under the surface among many Maya-Catholics of the community. The most serious during my study were the threats which provoked the fasting.

Things on the surface remain calm, however. There has been no Maya-Catholic revitalization movement, or increase in orthodoxy as a response to Adventism, unlike other areas which have come under Protestant evangelization. Instead it seems to have weakened the traditional cargo system.

When the Adventists began refusing to contribute to the fiestas, many others who had no interest in Adventism but disliked the financial drain of the fiestas, began to refuse to participate also. The Adventists had shown them that an alternate mode of behavior was possible.

The holding of a cargo, or ceremonial office, also formerly compulsory, (shirkers could be jailed) has now been made less rigorously binding by the Adventist withdrawal. Nevertheless a large portion of the membership of the San José church found it politic to spend the major day of the fiesta buying fruit in a neighboring town. There seems to be no separation between religious and secular cargos in San José, but since the hierarchy was described to me by an Adventist informant, I may be in error.

Supra-community relationships. One of the major changes of Indian culture effected by Seventh-day Adventism has been the formation of ties of one sort or another with non-Indians. This I see as the change which could most likely lead to ladinization or modernizing influences.

I have already mentioned the difference this made in my initial contacts with the Andreseños. There is not a blanket switch to more open and friendlier relations with non-Indians with conversion, however. Some Adventists retain a reserve and suspicion of outsiders which never breaks down. While this change could be a door to further changes, it so far has not been such, because of the attitudes of the Ladinos. Seventh-day Adventist Ladinos retain their feelings of superiority. Though this is a barrier to meaningful communication, they have a benevolent and paternal interest in the Indian brethren which many of their non-Adventist counterparts do not share. Thus the Indians can correspondingly trust them to a degree heretofore not possible with Ladinos.

The Ladinos are ignorant of many aspects of Indian culture, and most contacts between the two groups take place on Ladino ground, so to speak, in the town or on the mission, where the Indian is a somewhat bewildered minority.

North Americans to a great degree share the Ladinos' attitudes toward Indians. In addition, the relatively transient nature of their residence in the area usually

precludes the formation of any lasting relationships between the two groups, although there are notable individual exceptions.

Most North Americans arriving in the area have a double cultural barrier to overcome, and even those who succeed in learning Spanish may not be aware that Indian culture differs widely from the Ladino culture with which they have come to terms.

PART FIVE: RESULTS

As a result of my six months' residence among the Indians of San José, and my analysis of the data, I have reached the following conclusions relative to the hypotheses with which I had begun my work.

Hypothesis 1: Contact between a traditional highland Maya culture and evangelical Protestantism will result in culture change for the Maya. Culture change has most definitely taken place in San José, and by extension, in other communities, as a result of both Protestant evangelism and other change factors operating throughout the culture. Hypothesis 1. is thereby confirmed. Hypothesis 2. is more involved.

Hypothesis 2: Culture change among the Maya will take one or more of the following forms:

a. A number of individuals in the community will be affected by the new doctrine. This conversion and associated new behaviors will in turn bring about change in progressively larger groups such as the family and community or hamlet, and thus form a new synthesis or syncretism.

Hypothesis 2a. is unconfirmed because so far no community has experienced a complete or en masse conversion

to Protestantism. Also, because of the proximity of orthodox Adventist missionaries, and the constant input into the system of mainline beliefs and doctrine, there has been little opportunity for a "folk" or syncretistic Adventism to develop in combination with residual Maya beliefs. Nash (1958:79) observed a similar situation in Cantel, Guatemala. However, the fact that this community has not yet become completely Protestantized does not mean that such a community could never do so. If that were to happen it might produce entirely different results. Also this is not to say that the presence of Adventists in the community has had no effect on the greater non-Adventist community. The nature of this effect has been elaborated above.

Hypothesis 2b: Converts to Adventism will be regarded as deviants to the society and classified as

1. witches, dangerous to the community and subject to countersorcery, assassination, or other negative sanctions, and/or

2. nonmembers (Ladinos) who have left the community either psychologically or physically.

Hypothesis $2b_1$ I believe to be true in cases such as that of Isidro Gómez, described above, which has all the earmarks of a countersorcery action, namely:

1. Beliefs of non-Adventists concerning Adventists taking on animal characteristics, and their believed sexual

deviency, both characteristics of the nagual in this area (Foster 1944:103, Redfield and Villa 1934:179, Blaffer 1972:8).

2. The fact that Isidro was richer than his neighbors was a basis for suspicion of sorcery (Siverts 1969:179), and that he was the object of envy was first expressed by neighbors who stole from him.

3. The nature of the killing, in which Isidro and his family were surrounded by ten men, and shot at night while sleeping, was an expression of fear on the part of the killers (Nash 1967:457).

4. The general use of alleged sorcery by the victim, as a pretext for his murder in this culture (Nash 1967:462).

5. The apparent community consensus which supported the assassins (Bunzel 1940:385), and the fact that other Adventists apparently felt more comfortable after removing themselves from the community to a new colonia. These characteristics dovetail to a significant degree with the characteristics of those reported assassinated as witches in Zinacantán (Vogt 1969:412).

Hypothesis $2b_2$ is true only of the relative minority of Indian Adventists who through some quirk of fortune or Providence have come to be closely associated with Ladino and North American Adventists for long periods of time, such as Manuel Gómez, whose long residence at Yerba Buena and special patronage by a North American

missionary has resulted in a ladinization process which has partially ladinized Manuel and his wife, and almost completely ladinized his three sons. A North American who had known Pascuala, Manuel's wife some years previously, reported that she had refused to wear anything but the traditional huipil and navy skirt (Estelle 1973). Now she wears modern dress and shoes. The family lives in a cement block house in contrast to their neighbors, Adventist and non-Adventist, who reside in traditional style homes of wood with peaked thatched roofs. The entire family speak excellent Spanish, and one son reported that he felt more at home speaking Spanish than Tzotzil (Daniel Gómez 1974). Another son has married a Ladina.

The same process is taking place among the few Indians present in the schools at Yerba Buena and Linda Vista. The Indian students, a minority among Ladinos whose felt superiority to Indians is often expressed in word and action, demonstrated a reluctance to wear Indian dress and an embarrassment in speaking Tzotzil, even when their Spanish was extremely inadequate. The Indian boys did not wish to marry "Chamulitas," or marry according to the Indian custom of formally petitioning the prospective father-in-law for the girl, accompanied by gifts (Manuel López 1973). Some Indian girls adopted a coquettishness with men entirely uncharacteristic of their sex in their culture, in emulation of Ladinas. Many expressed a

reluctance to return to their "sad" villages after the social and mental stimulation and comparative physical comfort of the mission (Teresita Gómez 1973). However, until vastly greater numbers of Indians become intimately associated with it, the ladinization effect of the mission will remain minimal.

Hypothesis 2c: The converts, if sufficiently numerous in the community, might retain their tribal identity and a large portion of their traditional culture, and, though still regarded as deviant, form an enclave or subculture within the greater community. This hypothesis is the one which I believe comes closest to describing the situation now operating in San José. The Seventh-day Adventist Indians in San José still reside physically in the community, and more importantly, have a sense of belonging to the community. They have not laid aside their Indian identity, if we take as criteria of Indianness Paul's (1952:95) definition of an Indian as one who considers himself an Indian and Beals' statement that an Indian is considered such by both Indians and non-Indians (Beals 1952:95).

In addition the Adventist Andreseños retain many of the other traditionally identifying marks of Indianness. They retain their traditional strong involvement and psychological ties with the land and subsistence horticulture (Vogt 1969:20). Traditional dress and dialect

have been retained, at least to the degree which they are retained in other villages and by non-Protestants, implying that pressure to abandon these forms is not strongly associated with conversion to Protestantism. Another important trait widespread in Tzotzil culture is the major-minor or junior-senior (Vogt 1969:238) orientation. This concept of inequality in status according to age and other criteria, reflected constantly in social interaction, has been retained in the modified form described above.

Though profound changes have taken place in religious orientation, practice, and world view, a large portion of the culture remains very nearly the same. The daily round of activities of the Seventh-day Adventists, except in the above activities, is indistinguishable from that of their neighbors except on the Adventist Sabbath and the Catholic feast days.

No culture is static, and tremendous modernizing forces are moving slowly and inexorably through the highlands. Many of Vogt's predictions of culture changes in the area, which he expected in Zinacantán by 1984, are already occurring in other areas (Vogt 1969:611).

It is probable that the particular religious orientation of the Seventh-day Adventists and other Protestant groups will have an effect on the direction which modernization takes in their own lives. It also seems that the "brotherhood" ideal inherent in Adventist

doctrine should theoretically have some effect on ladinization among Indians. Until this philosophy of brotherhood is actually felt and practiced by Ladino Adventists, and until this and other factors, especially in the economic realm, make it physically more possible and psychologically more rewarding to ladinize, we will probably not see marked ladinization among Indian Adventists except in places like Yerba Buena.

I think a mistake which Thomas (1967), Colby (1960), and others have made is in labeling some culture changes in the area, such as in the cargo system, as a result of ladinization, or the ladinizing influence of Protestantism, when they are actually the result of either modernization, the modernizing effect of Protestantism, or simply the world view changes concomitant with Protestantism. The difference is that ladinization involves a switch from Indian to Ladino identity, without necessarily modernizing, while modernization involves the adoption of modern elements without necessarily implying a loss of Indian identity.

A GLOSSARY OF SPANISH AND TZOTZIL TERMS

aguardiente - hard liquor, a sugar cane rum (Vogt 1969:113) distilled by Ladinos or made illegally by villagers.

brujería - witchcraft or sorcery, from brujo - witch.

cargo - literally "burden". The one year term of office for each post of the civil or ceremonial hierarchy.

El Centinela - "The Sentinel". A Seventh-day Adventist evangelistic publication, published in English as Signs of the Times.

Chamulita - A colloquial term used by Ladinos of the Pueblo Nuevo area to describe Indians of all tribes. The diminuitive ending "ita" has a derogatory or condescending connotation. The term banquil, from Tzotzil bankíl - elder brother, is also sometimes used.

chul na Adventistá - Tzotzil: Adventist church. Chul - sacred or holy, na - house, Adventistá - Adventist. Many words are borrowed from Spanish intact except for a different placement of the accent.

colonia - colony: a relatively recent settlement of the formerly landless on ejido land made available after the 1910 revolution which brought in land reform. A small settlement or ranchería.

Comisariado - short for the president of the Comisariado Ejidal, a committee in each village in charge of the apportionment of ejido land. The president is the most important member and often acts without the others (Miller 1965:56).

ejido - communal farmland resulting from the 1917 land reform laws (Vogt 1969:699). Land is granted on the basis of its availability, and on the needs of members of the community, who must pay a nominal fee.

huipil - general term for an Indian blouse. Blouses are styled in a variety of designs, lengths, and patterns, but in general they are white with some type of colored embroidery.

Jefe de la Zona - Chief of the Zone. It is unclear just which official this informant was referring to.

Ladino - a mestizo; one of mixed or white blood, or of Mexican (national) culture, as opposed to one who identifies himself as an Indian.

metate - a flat stone with a central depression used in grinding hominy into masa, the dough used in preparing tortillas, etc. It is ground with a mano, another stone shaped like a rolling pin.

milpa - field, usually a cornfield.

municipio - municipality. A political unit. Chiapas is divided into departments, and each department into municipios.

olla - an earthen jar used for cooking and storage.

paraje - hamlet, neighborhood. A subdivision of the municipio.

posh - Tzotzil: see aguardiente.

presidencia - The seat of local government, town hall, mayor's office.

ranchería - settlement, hamlet, colonia.

reunión - reunion, gathering.

el Sabbatismo - Sabbatarianism.

Sociedad de Jovenes - Young People's Society. Also "M.V.", from the English, Missionary Volunteers. A meeting of the youth of a church, in Mexico held on Sabbath afternoon.

tamales - as made by the Indians, masa mixed with beans or rarely, meat, wrapped in banana leaves, and steamed in a olla.

tortilla - flat maize bread patted out or made in a press and baked on a comal, (a flat round piece of pottery coated with quicklime) over the three stones of the Maya hearth.

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